167 The new-style marriage, based on the consent of the parties, and
178 often arranged by themselves, has gradually been spreading in
582 popularity among the better educated. The cost of the wedding
593 and its preliminaries has also been much reduced. This is a consequence, too, of the growing equality between the sexes.

871 *Education.* It was only by dint of continual defeat at the hands of
212 foreign Powers that China realized that her traditional literary sys-
167 tem of education, which had endured for over a thousand years,
did not fit her to withstand the assaults of her enemies. At long last she decided to adopt an educational system on modern lines. The greatest obstacle in doing this was the classical language. The literary language in which all education was conducted had become completely divorced from the spoken language, and it needed many years of study before a student could obtain anything like command of it. Whilst it remained, a democratic system of education was out of the question.[1] So it was that in 1917 there occurred the most revolutionary happening in the history of Chinese education, the initiation of the *pai hua* movement.[2]

Pai hua, or written vernacular, had existed in China for centuries. Most popular novels were written in it, but it had never obtained the recognition of the literati. Corresponding, as it did, to the spoken language, it was much more easily learnt than *wen li*, the Chinese literary language, though it was clumsier and more discursive. So when Dr Hu Shih maintained that the literary language should be abolished in schools and that *pai hua* should be elevated to the rank of a literary medium, the proposal was considered as threatening the very foundations of Chinese culture. But the movement obtained powerful political support and in January 1920, the Minister of Education ordered that the spoken language should be used in the teaching of Chinese in primary schools. The form of *pai hua* approved for this purpose became known as *Kuo Yü*, or the National Language.[3]

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in 1899 and repealed in 1932. By this enactment the Secretary for Chinese Affairs had powers to decide the custody and guardianship of women and children, and to order divorce, separation, adoption, and betrothal.

[1] Dr W. A. P. Martin estimated about 1880 that the proportion of Chinese who could read and understand what they read was about one in twenty.

[2] For a full exposition of the subject see Victor Purcell, *Problems of Chinese Education* (London, Kegan Paul, 1936).

[3] See Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance*. The Haskell Lectures, 1933 (University of Chicago Press, 1934).

The adoption of *Kuo Yü* as a medium of instruction in schools 871
is about one-half of the story of education in China under the 212
Kuomintang: the other half is the adoption in 1928 of the Three
Principles of the People of Dr Sun Yat-sen as the foundation of 167
the education system.

The overseas Chinese of the Nanyang adopted with fervour the new style of education which the Revolution had brought into being. They started and ran their own schools, and the resultant rise of Nationalist feeling made the Governments of the several countries more and more apprehensive of the creation of an *imperium in imperio* in their midst.[1] Such was particularly the case in Malaya and Siam, and the crux of the friction between the China-born Chinese and the local administration has been their differences regarding the aim and control of this education. This will emerge in the course of the individual country studies of our survey.

The majority of the emigrants had little or no schooling before going abroad. It is reasonably certain that until quite recently the average emigrant was not a man of education at all, or at most he had had a very inadequate schooling before emigrating.

Religion. On going overseas to the Nanyang the Chinese took 771
with them their religious beliefs. Be the principle of Buddhism,
Taoism, or Confucianism effective or ossified, there can be no 167
doubt at all that the world of spirits, demons, gods, and heroes is still a very real thing to the majority of Chinese and goes with them wherever they go. Dr Ta Chen notes that among the items of household expenditure other than food, clothing, and shelter, that for religious practices predominates over all others both in the emigrant and non-emigrant families of east Kwangtung and south Fukien. ('These expenditures', he says, 'are a good index of the prevalence of religious concern.') Scepticism has assuredly grown with the advance of education, but for the majority it would seem that 'keeping in' with the Great Unseen was as much a matter of insurance as of piety and ethics.

Broadly speaking, the religion of the villagers of south China consists of the worship of Shen, Fu, and Yao in addition to the cult of their own ancestors. Shen and Fu are spirits from Buddhism and Taoism (especially the popular, corrupted, and confused aspects of

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[1] See Cyrus H. Peake, *Nationalism and Education in Modern China* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932).

S native community. The Chinese National Government manifested
an increasing solicitude for the *Hua Ch'iao*, the overseas Chinese,
578 whom it regards almost as its children; it instructed its consular
668 officials to register all the Chinese within their jurisdiction, and
they sent missions to inspect every activity of overseas Chinese
● [871] life. What is more, the Chinese Government took upon itself to
direct the education of Chinese in the Nanyang, laying down the
C curriculum to be followed, and even introducing a system of
578 grants-in-aid in competition with that of the local Government. It
648 often happened that remote officials in Nanking or Chungking,
very likely originating from one of the northern provinces and
668 completely out of touch and sympathy with the Chinese of the
Nanyang, claimed the right to direct their affairs. Even ethnically speaking the overseas Chinese might be nearer to the Siamese or Burmese, or (by intermarriage) to the Indonesians, than to a Chinese from Honam or Kansu. It was no wonder that Siam, Malaya, and the other countries of Southeast Asia saw an *imperium in imperio* growing up in their midst and began to fear for their
S own eventual safety.

578 This development, then, we are constrained to regard as in
668 many ways a misfortune for the overseas Chinese and for the
177 countries in which they had made their home or wherein they
C were sojourners. It arrested assimilation and erected a racial wall.
578 At the same time the simultaneous growth of local nationalism
encouraged the Chinese to look to their own country for pro-
668 tection—a protection, it turned out, it was, because of its own
648 internal division and weakness as a Power, in no position to give.
Nor did the authorities in the one country of Southeast Asia
177 where the Chinese now were the majority community offer any
real encouragement to the local-born Chinese to regard Malaya as their own country and to resist the claims to control their destinies by a remote Government in a country they had never seen. The chance to extend the teaching of English to the community was lost and for thousands the only means of receiving an education of any sort was in the Chinese Nationalist schools; the doors of the Malayan civil service were opened to Malays but not to Chinese; the whole policy of Federated and Unfederated Malay States was, and is still, pro-Malay. It was surely no wonder that the Malayan-born Chinese who, while proud of their Chinese ancestry and culture, wished to identify themselves and their

with all the emphasis of italics, in rural areas '*the jails are not large enough to make the use of force possible*'. Moreover, coercion cannot give permanent results, and, after a failure due to the use of coercion, it is more difficult to secure the co-operation of the people. It should, he suggests, be used 'only to carry out measures which have already secured the support and the co-operation of at least 90 % of the people of that area'.[1] The use of gentle pressure to improve hygiene was a characteristic of the former Ethical policy in Netherlands India. But experience brought disillusionment. Modern British colonial policy follows the Dutch Ethical policy, in aiming to encourage hygiene by lavish expenditure on social services, and by recourse to legal compulsion or pressure. But compulsion in the interest of public health creates more problems, and more difficult problems, than it solves; the essential factor is human, not mechanical. Hygienic customs in the tropics have grown up slowly as a condition of survival in a tropical environment. Even so far as they suited the environment they reflected the general backwardness of tropical peoples, inviting European intervention which entailed the disintegration of tropical society and the collapse of social customs, good and bad alike. Many customs, indeed, that formerly were useful, now became harmful. Modern conditions require the observance of new restrictions on individual liberty. It is possible to enforce these so far as they are requisite to economic development, and the expenditure of funds on social services has done much to promote economic efficiency, though not to the full extent needed by economic progress. But that is very different from enhancing welfare, in which little can be done until the people themselves or their leaders are conscious of a need for betterment.[2] This change of attitude is usually expected to result from education. 744

4. EDUCATION: TYPES OF SCHOOLS

In modern colonial policy few subjects have been so voluminously discussed as education. Apologists for colonial rule cite the expenditure on education as proof of its beneficence; critics complain that the expenditure is inadequate and that the methods of education are unsound. There is nothing new in this emphasis on education in tropical dependencies; it is an old tradition dating back to the Papal Bull of 1493. Education has always been regarded as a main instrument 871

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[1] Hydrick, pp. 18ff.

[2] *African Survey*, p. 1206.

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of welfare; what is distinctively modern is a new conception of welfare. Formerly attention was concentrated on welfare in the next world, but now few look beyond this world. Education is expected to help the people to produce more, and to teach them thrift and business principles; to improve their health and inculcate modern ways of life, and, finally, to guide them to self-government. On these objectives, despite controversy as to methods, colonial powers in general agree. It seems also that in tropical dependencies in general educational policy has developed along similar lines, has produced similar types of schools, has encountered similar difficulties, and has had similar results. And repeatedly these results have been directly contrary to the ends proposed. At each setback educational enthusiasts elaborate new projects, but with no better success. For the repeated failures there would seem to be one sufficient explanation: they disregard the environment. Educationists frame their projects with reference to conditions in the homogeneous society of the West and attempt to show what education might be and ought to do, but they do not pause to consider what education actually is and does and can do, and accordingly in the plural society of tropical dependencies, their plans miscarry.[1]

The common tradition of western civilization is that education should teach the children how to live as members of the community. This tradition is not merely western but worldwide. It is the tradition of Hindus and Moslems, and was formerly well illustrated in the monastic schools of Burma, which aimed at teaching the boys how to live as Burman Buddhists. The African likewise has 'his own methods of education in the form of character training and instruction in crafts or, in the case of girls, in the duties of domestic life....Social obligation forms the core of all teaching given by tribal elders, and the system is directed to fitting the youth to take his place in the traditional life of his group.'[2] But the old systems of education, whether elaborate as in Burma or primitive as in Africa, do not equip the child for life in the modern world, and modern education aims at teaching a new way of life. In the tropics 'education is, and is intended to be, an instrument of change'.

Naturally then the educational activities of colonial powers have depended on their desire to change the outlook of their subjects and to diffuse new ways of life among them. Educational policy accordingly reflects both the evolution of political ideas in Europe, and the course of changes in the relations between Europe and the tropics, so that, in broad outline, it has followed much the same course everywhere. Not infrequently missionaries have preceded, and indeed paved the way for foreign intervention, and have included education in their sphere of work. Ordinarily, however, in the earliest stage the Government has made such provision as might seem necessary for educating Europeans and has laid the foundation of modern European schools, but has left native education to the people. Then humanitarians, and especially missionaries, with the support of Liberal opinion, have obtained permission to provide schools for natives. This leads to a third stage in which practical considerations induce colonial powers to encourage native education. All these three stages, though distinct, have a common feature, that the prevailing attitude to education is one of *laissez-faire*: although in the third stage they provide funds and supervise expenditure, they abstain so far as possible from intervention and leave native education to private enterprise. Then, with the transition from a policy of *laissez-faire* to one of active construction, there succeeds a fourth stage in which the colonial administration assumes responsibility for the promotion, direction and control of education.

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[1] Furnivall, *Economic Review*, 1912; *Proc. Anglo-Netherlands Society*, 1944–5, p. 7.

[2] *African Survey*, pp. 1207, 1279.

The process thus briefly summarized may be traced most clearly in the older British and Dutch dependencies; elsewhere the various stages have been telescoped, but we may recognize its operation in the evolution of four different types of schools. For children recognized as Europeans, there are *European schools* which aim at giving an education similar to, if not identical with, the corresponding course in Europe. The schools provided by missionaries have developed along two lines. In some the instruction is based on the appropriate European language, and in others on the vernacular. Both kinds of school are western in type, because directed by Europeans in accordance with western ideas, but it is convenient to distinguish those based on a European language as *Western schools*, and those of the other class as *Vernacular schools*. This classification applies equally to schools maintained wholly or in part from private sources and those managed by the Government. The western schools are intended for the westernized native; sometimes policy has inclined towards making them different from European schools, but the general tendency now is to make the course and conditions in western schools as much like those in European schools as circumstances allow, but with an adaptation to local culture. The vernacular schools are intended for children who will ordinarily remain within the native sphere of life, but in some degree of contact with the western world. The *Native schools*, mostly religious and often confining formal instruction to little more than the elements of religion, are a survival from an older world, and provide for that section of the people which still looks backward to the past. Thus almost everywhere we find these four types of school: European, Western, Vernacular, and Native.

The evolution of the same types of school under different colonial powers in widely distant regions of the tropics suggests that the course of progress has been directed by the force of circumstances rather than by deliberate policy, and it is significant that in respect of each type educational policy has been frustrated by the force of circumstances. Until quite recently policy has aimed at marking off the European schools by refusing the admission of natives or restricting it within such narrow limits as not to imperil their predominantly western character. But it has rarely been possible for long wholly to exclude natives, or even to maintain western standards of instruction. Now, at least under British rule, the tendency is to draw the line between European and western schools less sharply. Of still greater interest is the contrast between policy and practice in respect of western and vernacular schools. The policy has been to exercise restraint over the growth of western education and to encourage vernacular education. Yet everywhere western schools are vigorous and have multiplied even to excess, especially under the system of direct rule; one great problem of educational administration has indeed been to keep these schools within limits that the revenue can afford. On the other hand, it has often been easier to provide vernacular schools than to get children to fill them. So far as in some countries vernacular education has made progress, it is for the same reason that has made western education generally popular, namely, that it provides the means to make a living. Similarly, attempts to foster native schools have failed; their curriculum has grown more narrow, and the attendance has declined.

5. EDUCATION AND LAISSEZ-FAIRE

Any examination of educational policy and practice in tropical dependencies must start from India, for this has led the way. We have glanced at education in India when reviewing educational progress in Burma, but it requires closer study. Formerly in India, as in Burma, the native schools aimed at teaching the children how to live, and, where this is the end of education, the more who go to school the better. At the end of the eighteenth century missionaries, aspiring to teach a better way of life, arrived. Despite the sympathy of some liberally-minded men, including the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, who in 1815 expressed a wish for some system of public instruction,[1] they had a long struggle against official discouragement and popular apathy. Their prime object was to elevate the masses, dispel ignorance and superstition, and spread Christianity, and with this object in view they gave instruction both in the vernacular and English. The latter soon proved its utility. So early as 1833 we find an Indian parent instructing his son that, although Sanskrit literature contained all that was really valuable, yet 'for secular purposes, for gaining a livelihood, a knowledge of the English language was absolutely necessary'.[2] These early missionary efforts had a most important influence in fostering the demand for English education. They taught the natives that English was a profitable acquisition, and the Government that English-speaking natives were profitable servants. The four stages of tolerance, approval, and encouragement of private enterprise, and finally of State control over education are marked by four outstanding official pronouncements.

In 1835 a Resolution decided unequivocally on preferring western education over the native system. The foundations of the modern educational system were laid in a dispatch from the Court of Directors in 1854, which recognized it as 'a sacred duty to confer upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge'. This dispatch stressed the importance of primary instruction for the masses. 'If any portion of the orders can be pronounced characteristic and distinctive, it was education for the great mass of the people.' When a commission was appointed in 1882 to report progress, the instructions required that it 'should specially bear in mind the great importance which the Government attaches to the subject of primary education'. Its report, which guided educational policy for the remainder of the century, was based on the principle of encouraging private enterprise and abstaining so far as possible from official competition. The review by Lord Curzon in his Resolution of 1904 was the fourth of these landmarks in educational policy, 'the special obligation of the Government towards the vernacular education of the masses, which was declared by the Court of Directors in 1854, was endorsed by the Education Commission of 1882, and has been reaffirmed by the Government of India whenever it has reviewed the progress of education'.[1]

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[1] *IG*, IV, 409ff.

[2] McCully, p. 44.

But the masses did not want primary instruction, whereas the middle classes wanted jobs and the Government wanted 'to create a supply of public servants'. There was an economic demand among the public for western schooling, and an economic demand in the administration and in western enterprise for the product of western schools. In these schools missionaries preached the Christian virtues, and educational authorities stressed cultural values, but with the people nothing counted but examination results. Boys crowded the schools, and parents demanded more schools. Missionaries and schoolmasters, zealous in their calling, but not insensible to the lure of larger grants, made room for more and more boys, and educational authorities, also from mixed motives, provided more and more schools. Where schools teach children how to live, the more who go to school the better; but when they teach them merely how to make a living, the more who go to school the less they earn. There was a demand for clerks; and the more clerks, the cheaper. Competition raised the standard of qualification for the various appointments. When the market for school graduates at any standard of attainment became saturated, the boys pressed on to higher standards, and higher education was little more than an euphemism for more valuable qualifications. The results were surveyed by Lord Curzon in his Resolution of 1904. Contrary to the hopes of early enthusiasts, education had become an economic rather than a cultural asset; the desire of Indians 'to realise the manifold advantages as soon and as cheaply as possible, tended to prevent both schools and colleges from filling their proper function as places of liberal education'. There was a keen demand for schools and schooling, but practically none for school graduates except in clerical employment and the law. Thus the schools produced a surplus of unemployable and discontented men, whose intellectual attainments were bounded by the 'literary' syllabus prescribed for their examinations, and whose character had not been strengthened by moral discipline. On the other hand, the primary instruction of the masses had made practically no progress. The early pioneers of education looked forward to raising the masses, dispelling superstition, spreading Christianity and fostering an attachment to British rule. But a hundred years of educational endeavour left the masses ignorant, stimulated aggressive Hinduism, and provided a focus for seditious agitation. The Resolution of 1904 accordingly marks the turning-point from a policy of *laissez-faire* to one of constructive effort and control.

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[1] Indian Education Commission, 1882, Report, pp. 24, 112, 625; *RPI* (India), 1897–1902, pp. 457 ff; *IG*, iv, p. 417.

In Burma and Malaya similar conditions, complicated by the supply of Indian and Chinese candidates for employment, had similar results, though rather later. In Netherlands India educational progress was slower, chiefly because under indirect rule and the Culture system there was a smaller demand for clerks. But the course of development was essentially the same. On the restoration of Dutch rule in 1816 the Government provided schools for Europeans, but in Java it expected the Regents to encourage native education. Missionaries were admitted to the Outer Provinces, though excluded from Java through fear of Moslem sensibilities. With the Liberal reaction against the Culture system, the Government recognized its responsibility 'for spreading light in India'. The adoption of this policy dates, as in British India, from 1854. Missionaries were admitted to Java at about the same time, but, as there was still some fear of Moslem reaction to Christian schools and there was as yet little demand for educated natives, they paid more attention to medical work. The European schools provided the subordinates required for clerical employment, and, except for a very few members of the upper classes who were admitted to the European schools, the natives had no facilities for learning Dutch, though in the towns some attended vernacular schools. From about 1900, however, the rapid economic development created a demand for more subordinates than the European schools supplied; the Ethical leaders emphasized the moral and material value of education and, before long, they found support in the growth of a Nationalist movement. In 1907 Dutch was introduced in some vernacular schools; in 1911 these were converted into western schools, preparing boys for the Clerkship Examination; and in 1914 facilities were given for further study. (The village schools established from 1907 will call for notice in connection with vernacular instruction.) Western education rapidly developed along the same lines as in British India. A junior clerk could earn fifteen to thirty times as much as an ordinary labourer, and the western school became 'the principal gateway to higher social rank and better opportunities of earning money'. Within a little over ten years from 1914, there was a surplus of unemployable school graduates, and diehards were criticizing western education as breeding unemployment, discontent and political agitation.[1] Similarly, under French rule in Indo-China, an educational policy claiming to diffuse the high ideals of French civilization had similar results, and was subjected to the same criticism.

If we turn to Africa we find educational progress following much the same lines. Here, as elsewhere, the pioneers of modern education, western and vernacular, were missionaries, with little support or supervision from the Government. In regions under indirect rule, so long as native chieftains were left to govern on their own lines, there was little demand for men from modern schools and, as in Java, western education made little progress. In Nigeria there was no Government school until 1899 and, when the country was taken over from the Niger Company in 1900, 'the first problem that presented itself to the newly formed administration was the lack of a clerical staff....In these circumstances the various governments, and to a less degree the trading firms, were only too anxious to employ anyone who could read and write, and, as the country developed, the demand increased far more rapidly than the supply.' Education was a profitable economic asset and naturally 'the demand for any form of education was tremendous'.[2] 'At the mines, the trading stores and on European estates, the English speaking native can often command a better position and a higher wage.' The people wanted education 'not only for its use as a medium of approach to the administration and in commerce and industrial relations, but as the symbol of a higher status'. In Africa as in India the competition for well-paid appointments pushed up the standard of qualifications required to secure employment and, for lack of local facilities, natives with sufficient means went on to European or American universities, though 'the resultant efflux was socially and intellectually undesirable'. Thus, within a generation, we find in Africa the same complaints as in India and the Tropical Far East. The curriculum was criticized for 'bookishness', as being 'academic', 'literary'; there was the same 'cult of the certificate' and, although under indirect rule lawyers were not so numerous as in India, the superfluity of 'preachers and editors' was criticized from very early days. By about 1925 the conditions which had inspired Curzon to formulate a new educational policy for India in 1904 had arisen also in Africa, and here also education policy took a turn in the direction of control.[1]

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[1] Creutzberg, Dr K. F., *Asiatic Review*, 1934, p. 119; Freytag, p. 69; Schrieke (*see* Bradley, p. 275).

[2] Burns, pp. 263–4.

6. CONSTRUCTIVE EDUCATION

When Curzon reviewed education in India the high hopes of early enthusiasts had faded, and the system of public instruction was generally regarded, not only in India but in other British dependencies and under French and Dutch rule, as a horrible example of what not to do. Criticism was chiefly directed against two points. The curriculum was condemned as academic, useless; and the study of English history and of the British constitution was held to be largely responsible for political agitation. Both criticisms were mistaken. The curriculum was, in fact, narrowly utilitarian, adapted to meeting the economic demand for clerks and subordinate officials; and political agitation was far more advanced and effective in the Philippines under Spanish rule than in India where the pupils studied Burke and Mill. Both ideas, however, were shared by Curzon, and he set about providing remedies. He directed that vocational and technical instruction should have a preference over 'academic' subjects; he wished to encourage higher moral standards by ethical teaching, stricter discipline and closer supervision and, especially, by stressing female education; and he reaffirmed the urgent importance of primary vernacular instruction. Through these reforms he expected to further economic progress by enabling cultivators to produce more, and also by providing capitalist enterprise with a larger supply of skilled labour and of more intelligent unskilled labour; he thought also to enhance individual welfare by teaching the people how to earn more, and social welfare by instructing them in modern hygiene; and he hoped to quiet political agitation by providing new openings for the unemployable intelligentsia. 'We have done our part,' he said, 'it rests with the people themselves to make a wise use of the opportunities that are now offered to them, and to realize that education in the true sense means something more than the mere passing of examinations, that it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind, that it should form character and teach right conduct—that it is, in fact, a preparation for the business of life.'

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[1] *African Survey*, pp. 1219, 1232, 1244, 1258, 1279, 1285.

871 During the present century the course of economic, social and political evolution has given a similar trend to educational policy throughout the tropics and especially in the direction of giving the system of instruction a more 'practical' character. In Burma, Malaya, Netherlands India, Indo-China and the Philippines, there have been repeated attempts to foster more assiduously vocational and technical instruction; from 1925 a series of pronouncements on policy in Africa almost re-echo the words of Curzon. Advanced education should be 'of a definitely utilitarian type' and mainly directed to 'the improvement of agriculture, animal husbandry and health'. The money spent on it 'would return to primary education in the form of teachers, to health in the form of doctors and to economic production in the form of agricultural, veterinary and forest officers'. It was thought that 'there is little danger of creating a class of educated unemployed as there is a growing need for the services of educated Africans'. There was 'general agreement that education cannot be confined to the few, but must progressively extend to the mass of the people', and there must be 'a drastic improvement in primary education'. At the same time 'the greatest importance was to be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction', and female education was to be encouraged—with such caution as might be necessary in view of Moslem prejudices. Also 'the need for closer inspection and control by government' has been accepted.[1]

That everywhere the current of educational policy should have turned in the same direction at about the same time is remarkable; what is still more striking is that it has been reinforced by the rising tide of nationalism. Between foreign Governments and Nationalist politicians there are many points of acute difference, but all agree on the importance of education and, in general, on the lines that it should take. Official and Nationalist views are not wholly identical. Official policy tends to regard education as an instrument of individual welfare and Nationalists regard it as a means of national advancement.[2] Although Nationalists admit the desirability of general primary instruction, they tend in practice to lay more stress on higher education with a view to political and economic emancipation. Nationalists whole-heartedly endorse the official view as to the importance of technical instruction. There is still another feature common to the educational policy of Nationalists and officials. All alike throughout the tropics recognize the *need* for well-educated natives in all lines of life; but they tend to overlook the fact that there is a very small *demand* for them. 911

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[1] *African Survey*, pp. 1229, 1233, 1281, 1290.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 1281, 1286.

7. EDUCATION AND PROGRESS

It is in the sphere of vocational and technical instruction, bearing directly on economic progress, that one would expect to find the need 874 for education most intimately connected with demand. Throughout the tropics agriculture is the chief, and almost the sole, occupation of the people, and it is conducted on traditional lines without the help of modern science. There should, then, be great scope for improving agricultural methods by instruction. That appeared obvious to Curzon and, in his project of giving a practical bias to education, he assigned the first place to agriculture. In other dependencies the same plausible argument has seemed convincing. Yet in India, Burma, Java and the Philippines attempts to teach the people better cultivation have proved unsuccessful. General experience shows that the courses fail to attract farmers and that the students look for posts under Government or on western enterprise, or else seek non-agricultural employment in the towns. In Malaya, when an agricultural school was opened in 1931, 'there had long been a serious need for it'. There was a serious need but a very small demand. 'A disappointingly high percentage do not intend to manage their own land, but want positions under Government or on estates. Here the experience tallies with that of agricultural schools in Java and the Philippines. The agricultural department is now pretty well staffed, so that the number of vacancies is declining.' The school helped the plantations by turning out cheap overseers, but even these were mostly Chinese, whom the employers preferred to Malays. Although the intention was to promote Malay welfare, the result was chiefly to profit western enterprise.[1] Much the same thing has happened in Africa. In the Transkei agricultural training has been provided since 1904, and there have been special schools since 1914. The men found employment as demonstrators and not as farmers, and in the former capacity their services were in demand so far off as the Belgian Congo. 'There is some fear however that it may not be possible to keep up these schools; the demand for agricultural demonstrators is, for various reasons, already slackening, and shows signs of decreasing still further.'[2]

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[1] Mills, pp. 355–6.

[2] *African Survey*, p. 1222.

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The expectation that technical instruction would provide a substitute for academic instruction has clearly proved fallacious. On the contrary, academic instruction has developed more rapidly than before. For this the insistence on technical instruction is in part responsible. Technical instruction is based on modern science, and requires a higher standard of general education than most pupils in the ordinary western schools attain. In Netherlands India technical instruction dates from 1901, when the growth of western enterprise was creating a demand for locally trained assistants. The technical institutes were open to natives, but were inaccessible because at that time only European schools equipped their pupils to receive technical training. That is still the position in many tropical dependencies. Few pupils study natural science, and only a small proportion reach a stage which equips them to receive technical instruction. Technical instruction does not take the place of general education, but stimulates the further development of general education. But the chief reason for the continued and more rapid growth of ordinary secondary and higher education is the modern expansion of western enterprise and commerce. This has created a greater demand for clerks and for a better knowledge of the appropriate European language. In Burma the growth of private enterprise in teaching English compelled the Government to accede to the teaching of English in vernacular schools. In Java the people insist on learning Dutch, and in Indo-China French. In some parts of Africa 'native life is so closely bound up with a dominant white civilization, that the native is not adequately equipped to meet the conditions with which he has to contend unless he knows a European language'.[1] For nearly half a century colonial education policy everywhere has been directed to giving a technical, utilitarian bent to the system of instruction, but has been unable to prevail against the economic forces creating a demand for (more strictly utilitarian) 'academic' courses. Curzon looked to his new policy to train the people in the business of life, but in practice the new policy, like the old, does no more than train them for a life of business. Under the new constructive policy as under the former policy of *laissez-faire*, education in the plural society of a tropical dependency is an instrument of economic progress, dominated by economic forces, and a powerful factor in converting the social order into a business concern.

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[1] *African Survey*, p. 1286.

8. EDUCATION AND WELFARE

● 871 Everywhere and always education has an economic aspect, for material welfare is one main concern of human life. The monastic schools in Burma aimed primarily at teaching the boys how to live as Burman Buddhists, but under their own kings they were also the chief means of advancement in Church and State. That was true also of education in medieval Europe. But in the modern world, when the application of rational criteria to social life reached the classroom, the economic aspect of education came into the foreground. In Europe this tendency has hitherto been kept within safe limits by the force of common social tradition but, in the plural society of tropical dependencies, there is no such tradition. It was because experience during the period of *laissez-faire* showed the need for some corrective that Curzon inaugurated the modern policy of providing a substitute for social tradition by teaching hygiene, thrift and morals.

871 515 Hygiene, accordingly, is now often taught in schools. The teaching of hygiene can be enforced by attaching suitable conditions to the grant of funds, and teachers can be encouraged to obtain certificates as teachers of hygiene by the lure of better pay. But hygienic principles, as actually taught, are valid only for the examination hall. In Burma, one may find lessons on hygiene being given in a classroom thick with cobwebs. In western schools the teaching of hygiene survives only through compulsion, and in the vernacular schools it 'is a farce'.[1] Similarly in Malaya, as elsewhere, the teachers of hygiene sleep in unventilated rooms and neglect the most elementary precautions as to food and drink that they impress daily on their pupils.[2] In the teaching of hygiene 'success lies not in having the child learn facts about hygiene, but in having him learn hygienic habits'.[3] In this matter the Dutch, as usual, are very thorough. Each child is provided with a form in two parts. Every day on reaching school he must inspect the teeth, hands and nails of the child next him, and enter their condition on that child's form. The other part of the form, concerning his habits during the previous day in washing his hands, using the latrine, cleaning himself after defecation and so on he must fill in for himself. At the end of the month the forms are made over to a sanitary inspector, who visits sample

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[1] *RPI*, 1927–32, p. 40; 1932–3, p. 17; 1932–7, p. 26.

[2] *RPI* (Malaya), 1938, p. 89.

[3] Hydrick, p. 59.

homes to check the correctness of the entries. This system would 871
seem unlikely to foster harmony in the classroom or the home, and
one would hesitate to recommend it generally; and, except possibly 515
in Java, the entries in the forms, whether made at home or in school, might be inaccurate and incomplete. But, even so, the Dutch recognize that it is useless to teach hygiene in school without raising the standard of hygiene among the parents.[1] In Burma, and probably elsewhere, men who have qualified as sanitary inspectors make a large part of their income by conniving at breaches of the health rules. Children may learn to pass examinations from text-books, but they learn to live from example and experience, and where the text-book teaches one thing and the environment another, it is the latter that prevails.

Again, the modern school is expected to inculcate thrift. In this 871
matter also, in Malaya as elsewhere, teachers exhort the children to
be thrifty while themselves notoriously in debt. Another agency for 577
teaching thrift is the co-operative credit movement, but co-operative subordinates are no more solvent than subordinates in other services. The whole economic system of tropical dependencies favours and, one may even say, is based on, indebtedness among the cultivators and labourers; it is through advances to cultivators that exporters get cheap produce, and through advances to coolies that employers get cheap labour. One cannot cure this by teaching thrift in schools. Parents incur debt to provide a western education for their children, and men who have been taught thrift in school from the infant standard to the university do not learn to shun the moneylender. If the schools cannot teach cultivators to make more money, which they do want, they are unlikely to be more successful in teaching them western ideas of welfare which they do not want, and in great measure are precluded by the environment from adopting. Without fundamental changes in the economic environment, and in the climate of popular opinion, the idea that western ideas of material welfare can be taught in school is an illusion.

Very similar conditions apply to education as an instrument of moral welfare. Curzon deplored the lax discipline and low moral standards in the schools, and thought to provide a remedy by introducing moral primers and text-books of personal ethics, and by enforcing stricter supervision and control. We have noticed the sequel in Burma. When the new policy was first adopted, the moral standards

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[1] Hydrick, pp. 13, 81.

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of the western schools in Burma were considered satisfactory; but religious training, ethical instruction and closer supervision were of no avail to check the decline of school discipline and morals until, within a quarter of a century, they had deteriorated to much the same level as in India. In India itself a tacit admission of the failure of the new policy to attain its end is apparent in the latest report on educational progress, which contains no reference to religion or religious education, and only 'one depressing and colourless paragraph is devoted to moral instruction'.[1] In Africa again, when the need for a constructive educational policy was realized, 'the greatest importance was to be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction'. It seems, however, that the adoption of this formula was partly due to the need for conciliating missionary bodies that provided nine-tenths of the instruction, and in practice moral training fights a losing battle against efficiency. Many of the missionary schools are regarded as unsatisfactory in respect of secular instruction, and Governments, hard-pressed for funds, demand efficiency, with visible and measurable results. Thus 'it may well be felt that the time has come when the state should show greater discrimination in the support it gives to the smaller mission school'. The larger mission schools also feel the strain of reconciling religion and efficiency. As standards of instruction rise with the demand for higher and more valuable certificates, the maintenance of schools becomes more costly, and the missions feel the pinch already, while their prospects of financial expansion are remote.[2] Educational policy pays homage to morals and religion, but economic forces govern practice and oust morals and religion from the schools. As the people want cheap qualifications quickly the Government has their support in cultivating efficiency. 'It is the desire for school-teaching rather than any doubts about his own faith which is often the chief inducement for the native to bring his children to the missionary', and native opinion is beginning to show itself impatient of missionary control.[3] The missionaries themselves recognize the utility of secular instruction and, although there are some 'with whom the impulse to effect conversions has seemed to outweigh all other considerations, it would be far from true to say that this spirit has been characteristic of missionary endeavour as a whole'; many 'would wish to combine a more effective type of education with their religious teaching did their resources 871 permit'. Some, however, are suspicious of efficiency. '*Education*', wrote Bishop Weston, 'is in danger of killing Africans, soul and 577 body. I view with great alarm the movement for educating Africans as quickly as possible....Education is the right of Africa—but education as practised at present will be Africa's curse.'[1]

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[1] *Overseas Education*, 1940–1, Oct. p. 75.

[2] *African Survey*, pp. 1229, 1235, 1237, 1242, 1284.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 1216, 1235, 1242.

The restriction of official support to the more 'efficient' type of 871 missionary school reacts on female education. In Africa since 1925, as in India since the time of Curzon, the importance of female 562 education as a means of promoting social welfare has been emphasized. There was the same apprehension that was felt in Java as to Moslem reactions, but in 1936 experience was held to justify the reaffirmation of this principle with greater confidence, and female instruction went ahead—to the prejudice of female education. In the domestic education of women the missionaries were doing useful work. 'There are few stations where some girls or women are not receiving a valuable if limited training in the domestic sciences or in the care of children, in nursing or midwifery, or as teachers.'[2] This was education—learning a new way of life not from text-books but by example and experience in an appropriate environment; but it could not be tested by examinations, or easily be recognized by grants conditional on any mass criterion of efficiency, and financial limitations and the doctrine of efficiency are causing the withdrawal of official grants from most of such schools. In Burma the American Baptists have done similar work among the Karens, with the indirect result that, among all the native peoples, the Karen Christians show far the highest percentage of female literacy. But that is not all. Many Karen girls after passing through the high schools, or even the university, willingly return to domestic duties in the village and the home. It is different with the Burmese. Despite the tradition of female literacy, there was no systematic provision of instruction for the girls. The women do most of the petty trade and, when the British Government opened schools to them, the girls in towns hastened to take advantage of their new opportunities. But it is only of late years that many have sought more advanced education in western schools, and these seem to be actuated by the same motive as their brothers, the desire to get 'a decent job'.[3] Whether female 'education' among westernized Burmese

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[1] Maynard Smith, H., *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar* (1926), p. 257.

[2] *African Survey*, pp. 1229, 1231, 1255.

[3] *RPI*, 1927–32, p. 25.

871 will produce better mothers, or birth control and cheaper typists,
562 is a question for the future.

9. VERNACULAR EDUCATION

872 So far we have been dealing in the main with western education, and have seen that the prospect of gain is sufficient to crowd the schools beyond capacity, but only so far, and in such directions, as they lead to a remunerative certificate; and that all values, other than examination values, are at a discount. Primary vernacular education provides the obverse of this picture because, in general, it does not pay; it is merely an instrument of human welfare. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the diffusion of general enlightenment in India through primary instruction has been a main objective of humanitarian sympathy; this principle was adopted and placed in the forefront of official policy from the middle of the century, and it was reaffirmed by Curzon at its close. Yet the progress achieved 'is shown by statistics admitted by the highest educational authorities to be thoroughly unsatisfactory',[1] and in Burma, which started the nineteenth century under native rule with a literate male population, the picture of primary instruction after a hundred years of British rule is 'one of almost unrelieved gloom'.[2] For over a hundred years there has been general agreement in India that primary instruction is the most effective instrument of material and moral welfare, yet, so far as there has been any progress under either head since the time of Wilberforce and Carey, it certainly cannot be attributed to the spread of primary instruction. This has not spread because there has been no demand for it. Now that it is again proclaimed with new insistence as the chief aim of modern educational policy in the tropics generally, some examination of the grounds on which it has been advocated seems expedient. Apart from humanitarian considerations they fall under two heads, political and economic.

872 Many have urged the spread of vernacular instruction on grounds
of political convenience. Curzon cited with approval the dictum that
21 'among all sources of administrative difficulty and political danger, few are so serious as the ignorance of the people'.[3] This view is still widely held. Mass education is recommended as a safeguard against explosive temper liable to produce a social upheaval. One is told that 'an increase of literacy makes the people easier to control and govern',

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[1] Mayhew, *India*, p. 226.

[2] *CVV*, p. 156.

[3] *RPI* (India), 1897–1902, p. 462; *Mass Education*, p. 7; Mayhew, *India*, p. 226.

872 believe this will send their children to vernacular schools so that they can earn more, just as in the past they have sent their children, often at great sacrifice, to western schools, and with the same result, but on a vastly wider scale, of producing discontent when the supply of those who can read and write is in excess of the demand. If vernacular education be recommended to the people as a means of individual advancement, it may provide more intelligent and more economic labour, but it will be perverted, like western education, from an instrument of welfare into an instrument of progress and its expansion will be governed by the demand for labour. The problem is to find some non-economic motive sufficient to induce parents to send their children to school. If such a motive can be found, then the more who go to school the better.

10. Native Education

● 871 While vernacular instruction has languished, native education has declined. It was formerly the strength of native education that it was based on ideas transcending the economic sphere. It taught them how to live. Now that the world in which it taught them how to live has vanished, the native schools decay. In Burma the monastic schools have lost much of their social value through the drainage of their wealthier and brighter pupils into western schools. In towns they have suffered also from the competition of lay schools, feeding the western schools, providing candidates for subordinate vernacular appointments, and attracting others who for various reasons are content with secular instruction. It has been the policy of the Government to adapt them to the modern world. 'The method of translating the policy into practice varied from time to time, but the variations played on a single theme—the secularization of the curriculum and methods of the monastic school.'[1] The monastic schools sufficed to provide magistrates and judges, so long as no other schools were available, but they did not fit into a scheme based on the assumption that efficiency in education could be tested by the acquisition of certificates qualifying for appointments, and they could not compete with the better lay schools in getting boys quickly through their examinations. Thus they were driven into the backwoods. There was no need to secularize western education, though it was largely in the hands of missionaries, for missionary schools, no less than lay schools, are dominated by the cult of the certificate, and now, as we have noted, the problem is 'how to spiritual-

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[1] *CVV*, p. 131.

ize education'. Similarly, in Java, the progress of modern education has 871
led to the decay of native schools. Formerly 'the children were entrusted to some village elder or religious leader for moral and social training, and also to learn simple arithmetic and reading and writing in a local script or in Arabic. These forms of teaching shrank to a simple religious teaching, and this process was quicker at first than the development of the new government education. Paradoxically therefore the creation of modern education increased the number of illiterates'.[1] The introduction of French education in Indo-China seems to have had a similar result. The decay of native education in the Tropical Far East is obvious because these schools, especially in Burma, had attained a comparatively high standard of instruction, but it has happened throughout the tropics from the Pacific Islands to Africa.

In Africa the native system of education was directed to character 871
training and instruction in crafts. But the crafts are dead or dying.
'The African artistic genius has produced objects of singular beauty 517
inspired by religious beliefs and social customs and the necessities of social and domestic life. These sources of inspiration are profoundly modified, if not destroyed by modern conditions, and there is evidence of a decline in artistic taste accelerated by the replacement of indigenous articles by those of European manufacture, the commercial exploitation of so-called native crafts, and lack of encouragement.' Everywhere 'native manufacture is undoubtedly on the decline: the smelting of iron is moribund; the ubiquitous petrol tin has made pottery almost a forgotten art; the handloom has nearly disappeared. It is a regrettable effect of European contacts in Africa that an increase of wealth should thus destroy rather than stimulate local craftsmanship.'[2] In Africa also, as in Burma and the tropics generally, the same process is visible in non-productive arts, in music, dancing and the drama, and also in native pastimes. 'The danger of the present time', it has been said, 'is that undue emphasis will be placed on economic welfare and mechanical progress, and that even leisure will be commercialized so that the true springs of artistic creation and enjoyment may have very little outlet.'[3] But that is nothing new, or peculiar to the present time. Despite benevolent aspirations in colonial policy, it has always been inherent in colonial practice. The decline of native arts and crafts and

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[1] C. O. van der Plas, see Djajadiningrat, p. 65.

[2] *African Survey*, pp. 1207, 1290, 1420.

[3] *Mass Education*, p. 49.

871 517 pastimes is merely one aspect of the elimination of non-economic values in the plural society of a tropical dependency, and native schools and native education decay because the ideas on which they rested lose their meaning.

II. EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

871 Even in England it is often suggested that the ideas on which education has rested in the past are fading and must be recovered. Enthusiasts for education propound large claims as to what education might or ought to be, and what it might, should or must do. But they tend to overlook what education actually is and does, and confound education with instruction. Education is much wider than instruction, and much older. During the long ages of pre-history man survived because he was capable of learning, by example and experience, to adapt his way of life to his environment; succeeding generations learned new lessons in the school of life. Education dates from the emergence of mankind. Instruction, however, was of minor importance before the invention of the art of letters, which gave man a new and more efficient means of transmitting his social heritage and of communicating new ideas. But it was chiefly significant in giving a foremost place in education to mental discipline, the training of the mind. This helped man to understand his environment and made him better able, not merely to adapt his way of life to his environment, but to adapt his environment to his way of life. It gave him a key to progress. In the course of modern progress instruction has come to play a growing part in education. But it is not the whole of education; it is that part of education which consists in the formal training of the mind. Education is much wider; it is the sum of all the processes that equip the child for life in adult society.

The distinction between education and instruction is so obvious that it might seem a platitude if it were not so often overlooked. When advocates of education in the tropics say that 'education is, and is intended to be an instrument of change', or that 'the whole mass of the people must have a real share in education and some understanding of its meaning and purpose',[1] they show that they mistake its meaning, and are regarding it as something grafted on to life. The teacher of a training college in the Philippines tells us to 'think of tropical peoples as organisms having to adjust themselves to a physical and social environment which under modern conditions may embrace more or less of indigenous and alien elements'. That is true. But he goes on to argue that 'education is the process by which they gain the best adaptation',[1] and obviously is thinking merely of instruction. In Burma, 'the major task of education is to help towards the establishment of economic security and the improvement of living conditions in the village'.... 'The task', says an optimistic expert in educational technique, 'can be undertaken *by reconstructing the curricula of the schools.*'[2] Educationalists, in claiming that education should or must promote the good life, or change the social order, or soften the impact of western civilization, overlook the fact that education is not something given in the school or by way of formal instruction, but is the operation of the whole environment. They will readily admit that the school can play only a minor part in education, but underlying the high ideals that find expression in educational policy is the tacit assumption that these lofty aspirations can be realized in practice by instruction for a few years, during a few hours a day in certain subjects as set forth in text-books through teachers who often do not believe in what they teach.

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[1] *Mass Education*, p. 4.

In the West the tendency to identify education with instruction is not unnatural, for the school is the product of and is conditioned by the environment, and the instruction given there is reinforced by and reinforces the social environment outside the school. The education of the child proceeds on the same lines inside and outside the school, and it is convenient to distinguish by the name of education that which is given in the school. But in the tropics 'the school itself is largely exotic in character, and so is often unable really to reflect and interpret the society which it is intended to serve'.[3] The schools are expected to promote welfare, but much of the teaching in school runs counter to and is countered by the social environment outside the school. Europeans are quick to impress on nationalist politicians the folly of trying to create industries by training men to practise them, but the project of creating welfare by training men to teach it is no wiser. Instruction *seems* important, far more important than it is, for whereas we are conscious of instruction, other educational processes are largely unconscious. We know when we are being taught, but often fail to recognize until long afterwards, if ever, that we are learning and, in comparison with the pressure exerted by the environment, school teaching is negligible.

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[1] Keesing, p. 43.
[2] *Mass Education*, p. 6.
[3] *CVV*, p. 195 (my italics).

7: Furnivall G-4, 5 (no date) 1948 AL1 Southeast Asia AL1

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The tropics have learned much from Europe; but very little from schools or school-books. Their first lesson is that spears and bows and arrows are no match for bayonets and machine-guns. More is taught by the wrath of the tiger than by the horses of instruction. It is significant that they do not grasp the meaning even of this lesson. They learn from experience the greater efficiency of western arms, but experience does not teach them the secret of moral discipline that has gone to the perfection of western military power. Even the Japanese, whose social tradition was strong enough to provide the necessary moral discipline, overrated the importance of military power and did not fathom the secret of its limitations. Schools, teachers and text-books may try to sow the seed of western civilization, but the pupils are content to pluck the fruit. They see the fruit; they see that export crops are more profitable than food crops; that the motor-car is speedier and more comfortable than the bullock cart; and, among other things, both good and bad, they learn that 'education' is a way to make a living—not from pronouncements on educational policy, but from practical experience both inside and outside the school. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, missionaries and humanitarians have expected education in the tropics to change the character of the environment, but in the event the environment has changed the character of education. The schools meet the demand for officials and subordinates in administration and western enterprise and produce a supply in excess of the demand. In Burma there is 'waste of effort and money on instruction that is making but little, if any, impression on the illiteracy of the masses at one extreme, and adding to the gravity of the already grave problem of the unemployed graduate and product of the secondary schools at the other'.[1] This picture of the results attained in Burma after a hundred years of British rule applies to tropical dependencies in general, but it is a poor return for the labours of so many generations of zealous and devoted teachers, missionaries and laymen.

Western schools produce a surplus of clerical skill, and mass education may produce a surplus of educated unskilled labour. So far as it goes, the instruction given in the schools is good, useful. It enables those, or some of those, who receive it, to earn more money than they would otherwise, and helps western administration and enterprise to function more efficiently and cheaply. Both these things are desirable. But they are not the things that humanitarians have in view

[1] *CVV*, p. 183.

when pleading the cause of education. The advocates of education look on instruction as a key to western civilization and the modern world, and so it is. So long, however, as the people have no books to read, the door is not only locked, but barred and bolted.

Primary instruction teaches the people to read. But if they have no occasion for reading, they tend to forget what they have learned in school and to lapse into illiteracy. A modern environment, with moneylenders, law courts and a postal service, creates a demand for reading as a useful accomplishment; in a literate environment people do not forget their alphabet so readily. But it does not supply them with books or create a habit of reading. If their religion has its scriptures, there will be a demand for religious books, as in Burma, where there has been a demand for such books from the first introduction of printing, though for show rather than for use. Both in Burma and Netherlands India, when the reading public was still very small, it was thought necessary to take action against pornographic literature.[1] That was what the public wanted. Under the stimulus of nationalism, newspapers may achieve a modest circulation, if sufficiently critical of Government. But it is more difficult than it may seem to provide books in the vernacular that open a door into the modern world, and still more difficult to get the people to want to read such books. We have seen that the Dutch have gone some way to solve the problem, and something has been done by private associations in Africa. The crux of the problem is to organize a demand for books, and, if this can be accomplished, it is comparatively easy to supply reading matter.

Western instruction might seem more effective as an instrument of civilization than vernacular instruction, because a European language in itself provides a gateway to the modern world. But the progress of western instruction is conditioned by the economic environment. This places limits on the numbers who receive it, and restricts its scope to attainments with a market value. One distinctive feature of the modern world is the importance of natural science in the affairs of daily life. But in the tropics, so long as the demand for men with a western education is confined to administrative and clerical employment, scientific studies are at a discount. Only when, and so far as, the growth of western enterprise creates a demand for men with technical qualifications, is there a demand for the teaching of natural science. If tropical peoples are to be brought into closer contact with the modern world and to contribute as fully as possible to world welfare, it is desirable that colonial administrations should do what they can to foster a demand for western education (including vernacular education on western lines) and for the enlargement of [illegible] scope. That is not a problem for educational authorities, though often left to them. How best to meet an actual demand for western studies is an educational problem, but to organize a demand for more men with a western education and for education with a wider scope are matters that lie outside the province of the educational authorities and the schoolmaster.

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[1] Freytag, p. 71; *RAB*, 1914–15, p. 101.

The people seek western education for its economic value and they wish 'to realize its manifold advantages as soon and as cheaply as possible'. If they are to appreciate its cultural value, and use it as an introduction to the modern world, there must be some inducement sufficient to encourage them to understand the modern world, its material achievements and the spiritual foundations on which its material achievements rest. But just as the western man of business only earns his living in the tropics while his real life is in the West, so likewise the people live in the native world and only earn their living in the western sphere. That is the environment which conditions education, and it is impossible to change the environment through the schools, because the schools supply what the environment demands; if, however, we can change the environment, the schools will reflect the new environment, and it is only thus that we can transform mere instruction into education.

Western education, then, is necessary if the people are to become citizens of the modern world, but the present system of instruction is precluded from performing this function by the environment in which it functions and which it reflects. Among Europeans concerned with education, though some reconcile themselves to a purely utilitarian view of their activities and some lapse into cynical indifference, many and probably most do their best to instil cultural values. But Europeans come into close and direct contact with only a comparatively small number of students, usually in the higher standards. Most of the teachers are natives, often men who have failed to find more lucrative employment, and ordinarily, like the students, they care for little but examination results. Some teachers may inspire some pupils with ideals, but 'idealism is easy in the class-room' and rarely survives contact with the outer world. It is true that western education under British, Dutch and French rule,

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has produced a few men who are at home in the modern world and some who have achieved an international reputation. But most of these have drunk the waters of modern civilization at the fountain head in Europe, and it is noteworthy that among them the men who believe most fervently in education found schools like the *asrams* of Gandhi and Tagore, or the *Tamansiswo* schools in Java, which repudiate the whole material basis on which public instruction rests. This is in striking contrast with the early native educationists such as Ram Mohur Roy and Miss Kartini, who looked to western education as a means of spreading light in Asia. It is in contrast also with the general attitude among modern nationalists. These have founded Nationalist schools partly with a view to attaining the same results as Government and mission schools, but more rapidly and cheaply, and partly with a view to national advancement by using western learning as a means to rid themselves of western rule. Often such schools are tempted by the lure of grants to succumb to the environment, and become merely inferior imitations of the Government schools, so that nationalists succeed no better than missionaries in transforming instruction into education. Thus humanitarians, missionaries, nationalists and statements of official policy present education as an instrument of culture, according to the common tradition of Europe and the tropics; but in practice, it becomes an instrument of economic development, and even as such is less effective than it would be in a more congenial environment.

to find remunerative work. Discontent was rife among the educated classes, led by the older and more ambitious who, relying on the promises of 1833, had qualified themselves in Europe for positions of responsibility and, on returning, found themselves disappointed of their hopes. Meanwhile public instruction had failed to reach the common people who were still buried in superstition. Christianity had made some headway among outcasts on whom it conferred a higher status, and in a Christian environment the school was a valuable instrument of culture. But many prominent Indians in their reaction against Western individualism were lighting new fires to their old gods and finding tinderwood among the masses. Missionaries and humanitarians had expected to transform the social environment through the school, and the environment had changed; but it had been changed by economic forces and not by education; and the new environment had transformed the school from a social into an economic institution. Modern principles of education, which had proved their value in the West, worked differently in India where they had no Western background. In the Tropical Far East they gave very similar results.

Burma

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century the expansion of the British and Burman empires brought them into political contact along a common frontier; and at the same time the growth of British trade brought them into economic contact. Burma was a mediaeval State suddenly brought up against the modern world. Failing reformation from within, foreign intervention was inevitable. Continual friction led to a succession of wars. The first ended in 1826 with the cession of two maritime provinces: Arakan, bordering on Bengal; and Tenasserim, reaching down to Malaya. The second war in 1852 linked up the earlier possessions through the occupation of Pegu and brought the whole of Lower Burma under British rule. In 1886, after a third war, the absorption of the country within the Indian Empire was completed by the annexation of Upper Burma. Until 1937 Burma remained a province of the Indian Empire.

871 The earlier officials in Burma held the liberal views then generally prevalent. A proclamation by the first civil governor of Burma announced his intention to rule the country "on the most liberal and equitable principles." He was interested in education, but that given in the monasteries seemed to him "of little practical use," and he hoped "to offer the people the means of acquiring a knowledge of the English language, and more useful learning than could be gained under their own system of instruction."[7] Roman Catholics had been working in the country with little intermission since 1719 and about 1800 had a school in Rangoon with sixty to seventy boys, including some natives. Baptists, at first English and then American, had been in Burma since 1807 but did little or no educational work before the arrival of the English. In 1825 they opened a school in Tenasserim but about the same time turned their attention to a backward heathen tribe, the Karens.[8] An attempt to enlist their help proved unsuccessful, but the Government needed English-speaking clerks and between 1835 and 1844 opened three Anglo-vernacular schools, one in each of the three chief towns.[9] Economic progress however was slow. So late as 1870, apart from barracks, jails and law-courts, built mostly with Indian immigrant or convict labor, the public works consisted of little more than five incomplete roads.[10] There was little demand therefore for lads from Western schools. Moreover, the Buddhist monastic schools, though unaided and unrecognized and often decried as impractical, met the needs not only of the people in their home life but also of the Administration for the supply of public servants. Even the judges had "little other education than that which they received as boys in some Buddhist monastery."[11] Meanwhile the missionaries were devoting practically all their attention to the Karens, from whom they met a ready welcome. In 1864 the

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[7] Furnivall, J. S., *The Fashioning of Leviathan* (Rangoon, 1941), pp. 6, 81.

[8] *Census of Burma*, 1891, p. 79; Luce, Rev. E., *The Catholic Mission in Southern Burma* (1904), p. 17.

[9] Campbell, A., *Report of the Vernacular and Vocational Reorganization Committee, 1936*, p. 129.

[10] *Report on the Administration of British Burma, 1861-62*, p. viii.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1868-69, p. 61.

Government still maintained three schools, and various missionary societies maintained 24 middle or special schools, 170 village schools and 10 schools for girls. Of just over five thousand children in these schools only one thousand were Burmese.[12] But the officials were now being required to study the law codes and to pass examinations, though "they did not understand what they learned and had little power of applying it." The Government was therefore beginning to recruit youths who had "received some smattering of education in a government or mission school to the exclusion of the old class of hereditary and highly influential men."[13] This naturally reacted unfavorably on the monastic schools, which lost the brighter and wealthier lads. Almost from the beginning of the British occupation the decay of these schools was regretted. How far the deterioration proceeded is uncertain. According to the first Census, taken in 1872, only 32 per cent of the males were literate, and among over two million families only 12,300 were literate. Yet the corresponding figures for the jail population were 60 and 10 per cent, and, as the Census Report suggests, it is "hardly probable that the criminal classes were better instructed than the general population."[14]

That was roughly the position when the educational impulse of the sixties spread from India to Burma. In 1865 the then head of the Province, Sir Arthur Phayre, who knew the country intimately, put forward a plan based on the monastic schools. He proposed gradually to establish Anglo-vernacular schools in the chief towns and to have no other lay schools, but to encourage the monastic schools to improve their curriculum by providing them with books on arithmetic, land-measurement, and geography. But his plan never had a fair trial. In 1866 a Director of Public Instruction was appointed. "The Director spoke little Burmese, the clergy spoke no English; the Director had no staff and the clergy no central authority."[15] Phayre had recognized that to obtain the cooperation of the Buddhist monks

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[12] Campbell, A., *Report of the Vernacular and Vocational Reorganization Committee, 1936,* p. 129; *Administration Report, 1861-62,* p. 19.

[13] *Administration Report, 1868-69,* p. 61.

[14] *Census Report, 1872,* p. 25.

[15] Harvey, G. E., *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. VI, p. 444.

871 "would require very great tact, judgment and discretion," and these were lacking. By 1871 only 141 monasteries had accepted the scheme. Even in remote villages there was an almost universal cry for English, and it was suggested that Phayre's plan would be more attractive if English were taught in selected monastic schools; but the proposal was vetoed as the boys would not acquire a correct English accent.[16] Phayre's plan would have based the whole of vernacular instruction on a national traditional basis and, especially with the inclusion of English, might have breathed new life into the monastic schools. But progress was too slow, and it was decided to recognize lay schools which were expected to prove more efficient. Even a little more patience might have justified Phayre's hopes; by 1873 the number of monastic schools on the registers had risen to 801 against 112 lay schools.

By this time the opening of the Suez Canal had stimulated rapid economic progress with a corresponding growth of the demand for Anglo-vernacular instruction, and this occupied the chief attention of the Department. Vernacular education however, was gradually passing more under Government supervision, and just before the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the departmental registers included close on four thousand monastic schools and rather more than six hundred lay schools. The annexation was followed by a swing in the direction of "efficiency". By the end of the century the number of monastic schools on the registers in Lower Burma had fallen to 1171 against 523 lay vernacular schools; during the same period in Upper Burma the number of registered monastic schools after rising to 2998, dropped to 1804—as against 557 lay vernacular schools.[17] According to the Census Report for 1901, the registered primary schools, monastic and lay, numbered 4091, with 127,638 pupils; and there were 13,118 unregistered monastic schools with 147,682 pupils.[18] By this time Anglo-vernacular instruction had made considerable progress: there were 388 secondary schools with 31,616 students and 2 high schools with

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[16] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1928-29*, p. 11.

[17] For annual figures see Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[18] Cited in *Census Report*, 1911, p. 166.

140 students. Out of a total population of 10.5 million, there were some 275,000 children at school, including about 27,000 girls, mostly in "boys" schools. The proportion of male literates was 37.8 per cent and of female literates about 4.5 per cent. The figures for literacy were reduced by Indian immigration; in the central basin of Upper Burma, where they were few Indians, the percentage of literacy among males was 45.6. Thus it was largely to the unregistered monasteries that the supremacy of Burma among Indian provinces was due. Female literacy was higher in Lower Burma and notable among the Christian Karens.

In the first years after the Annexation, some Buddhist monks in Upper Burma welcomed the introduction of new studies and even encouraged the teaching of English in the monastic schools. "There is perhaps no more hopeful sign of the future of the country," says the Census Report for 1891, "than the admirable foresight which the *pongyis* (monks) in Lower Burma have shown before, and which is shown at the present day by the *pongyis* of Upper Burma. The worst service the conquerors of Burma could render the conquered is to take away their religion and give them instead nothing but a smattering of English and a Calcutta degree."[19] From the beginning of British rule in 1826 the Government repeatedly expressed sympathy with the monastic school. But this was fighting a losing battle against economic forces and against departmental regulations intended to promote efficiency. A smattering of English conferred social status and had economic value. The lay school was more useful to the petty trader, increasing in number in the towns, and to the lad who would go on to an Anglo-vernacular school. Some lay schools attempted "surreptitiously" to teach English.[20] Formerly the general diffusion of English had been viewed with favor, and English was the usual medium of instruction in Anglo-vernacular schools, where indeed many of the teachers, European and Indian, could not speak Burmese. But in 1891 it was ruled that in Anglo-vernacular schools instruction up to Standard VII should be in the vernacular, but the wishes were disregarded and English continued as the medium of instruction until 1900.[21]

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[19] *Census Report, 1891,* p. 139.

[20] Harvey, G. E., *op. cit.,* p. 445.

Standards I to IV were classed as Primary, V to VII as Middle School, and VIII to X as High School; and schools were classed according to the highest standard taught, even though going down to the lowest standard. Of the two high schools one was a government institution; of the secondary schools three were managed by Government and seventeen by local bodies. All the other schools of these grades were under private management, almost entirely missionary. All the primary schools were under private management.[22] Thus the control of Government over education was for the most part exercised only through grants to recognized institutions, calculated almost exclusively on the results of examinations, and about half the children were in monastic schools wholly independent of Government control. As in India, the system of public instruction, despite the high ideals of missionaries and educational authorities, had become a factory for the production of clerks, and the Eastern Schools, struggling to maintain a different tradition, were deteriorating and falling into the background. As yet, however, there were no such problems as perturbed the Government in India. No Burman had returned from studies in Europe; even lads who failed to reach the VIIth standard could easily find employment, and the Buddhist clergy still acquiesced in their supersession by lay teachers; there was no trouble in the country and the boys were well conducted in the schools.

British Malaya

British Malaya includes the Straits Settlements, four Federated Malay States and five Unfederated Malay States. The Straits Settlements, consisting of Singapore, Penang and Malacca with their immediate environs, were acquired between 1786 and 1824; the two former had been under native rule, but Malacca had belonged successively to the Portuguese and Dutch. They were under the East India Company until 1857 and under the India Office until 1867, when they became a Crown

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[21] *Administration Report, 1891-92*, p. 128.

[22] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1899-1900.*

Colony under the Colonial Office. The four Federated States accepted British protection at various dates between 1874 and 1889, and in 1896 were constituted a Federation under a Resident-General. Of the Unfederated States four were taken over from Siam in 1909 and the fifth, Johore, formally accepted British protection in 1914. The headquarters of government is in Singapore, where the Governor-General is also High Commissioner for the Malay States.

The long connection between the Straits Settlements and the East India Company gave an Indian bias to the administrative system, and this in turn influenced the administrative system of the Malay States. But the great distance between Calcutta and Singapore, the difference between Indians and Malays, and the primary significance of the Straits Settlements as ports raised special problems affecting all aspects of the administration, including public instruction. The Straits Settlements were almost exclusively commercial centers with a mixed population in which Malays rapidly sank into the background, giving place to Chinese and Indians. In early days, especially under Raffles, Liberal views prevailed, schools were opened for all classes. But these soon abandoned vernacular instruction and concentrated on an English course that would furnish the necessary subordinates for government and trade. So great was the demand for English that these government schools were soon supplemented by private schools, mostly established by missionaries. Few of the pupils were Malays, and little was attempted for the vernacular instruction of Malays. As shown below, the pupils in English schools were three times as numerous in 1872 as those in vernacular schools.

In Malaya as elsewhere a new interest in education coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal, and in 1870 a Committee was appointed to examine the position. It found that boys from the lower standards could easily obtain jobs, and therefore left school with a very imperfect knowledge of English; that the vernacular schools had done "little or no good," and the education of girls was very unsatisfactory.[23] The defects of the English course were ascribed to the short time spent in school and to the lack of a preliminary grounding in the vernacular. The Committee recommended the appointment of a director to supervise and coordinate education, and the encouragement of vernacular schools, apparently to provide a firmer basis for English education. In 1872 an Education Department was created and an Inspector of Schools appointed; the English schools were left mainly to private enterprise, supervised and assisted by Government, but the Government encouraged vernacular education among the Malays by providing free instruction in State village schools. In the English schools the medium of instruction continued to be English. These principles governed educational policy in the Colony up to the end of the century.

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[23] Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1905 (Cd. 2379); "The Systems of Education in the Straits Settlement," p. 138.

The assumption of control over the Malay States raised a new problem. It was thought impolitic to encourage missionary enterprise among a Moslem population newly brought under British rule, and for some time English as well as vernacular education was under the direct control of the Government; towards the end of the century missionaries were invited to take over some of the English schools that the Government had opened. Vernacular instruction was provided on the same lines as in the Colony. Each State had its own inspector, but in 1898 a federal officer was appointed to exercise the functions of a director. From 1891 one State introduced compulsory attendance and the others followed its example. Thus by the end of the century vernacular instruction had made notable progress, though in the Colony there were still more pupils in the English than in vernacular schools.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH MALAYA[24]

	(a) No. of Schools Straits Settlements				(b) No. of Pupils Federated Malay States			
Year	*English*		*Vernacular*		*English*		*Vernacular*	
	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)
1872	19	2,641	28	818	..	..	..	..
1900	39	7,528	171	7,404	24	1,629	234	6,494

[24] *Ibid.*, ". . . Straits Settlements," p. 134; ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 8.

The complete English course up to the VIIth standard corresponded in intention to that of an elementary school in England, though falling short of it in practice. To the ordinary non-European it represented a "higher" education [25] and very few went further. To encourage the brighter lads to remain at school annual scholarships, known later as "Queen's Scholarships", were instituted in 1886, enabling the successful candidates to proceed to an English University. With the same object the Cambridge Local Examinations were introduced in 1891; but in 1900 only some two hundred were receiving a secondary education and practically all these were from the Colony. Not many stayed at school up to the VIIth standard, as their one object was to acquire enough English to become a clerk and they could achieve this after the IVth standard.

The vernacular course comprised four standards covering the three R's and a little very elementary geography; from about 1894 the pupils were taught the Roman as well as the Arabic characters. To improve the teaching a training school was opened in 1878, but the teachers were still unsatisfactory as they did not practice the virtues that they learned and taught. The chief problem however was to obtain the cooperation of the parents, who were "apathetic, jealous of the loss of their children's services, and distrustful of secular teaching."[26] They voluntarily sent their children to the Moslem schools for their spiritual welfare or to English schools for their material welfare, but the official vernacular schools offered them nothing in this world or the next. The use of the schools as centers for distributing quinine and other medicines did something to dispel the prejudice. From 1888 pupils were encouraged to complete the course by the grant of a free education in an English school to those few who did so. Gentle pressure was exercised through the chieftains and headmen and, as mentioned above, compulsory attendance was gradually introduced. In these various ways vernacular instruction made headway; and in 1900 it was estimated that about two-thirds of the Malay boys of school age attended school, though mostly for no longer than a year or two. Female education was still unpopular; in the States only about 250 girls attended vernacular schools, and those in English schools, about the same number, were Europeans or Eurasians. In the Colony the Malay girls' schools were few and very ill-attended.[27] There were few vernacular schools except for Malays as it was felt that to provide schools for foreign Asiatics "would be committing the fatal error of encouraging them in the idea that China or India is their home."[28]

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[25] *Ibid.*, ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 7.

[26] *Annual Report on Education in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, 1938*, p. 18.

Thus by the end of the century English education was firmly established on an economic basis. There was no unemployment among school graduates and no discontent; on the contrary, there were bitter complaints both from Government and commercial firms at the high salaries that had to be paid for incompetent clerks. The Government has succeeded in getting a considerable proportion of the younger boys into the vernacular schools, but not for long enough to acquire literacy, and it had failed to organize a demand among the people in general for primary instruction.

Netherlands India

One of the indirect consequences of the French Revolution was the collapse of the Dutch East India Company, which went bankrupt and was taken over by the home government. Dutch rule was still concentrated in Java, which, between 1808 and 1815, passed successively to the French and English. Raffles (1811-15) believed fervently in the new Liberal principles of equal law and economic freedom, and replaced the Dutch system of indirect rule by the system of direct rule, then recently adopted in India. Liberal ideas prevailed among the Dutch when they regained possession, and they tried to reconstruct their rule on the foundations laid by Raffles. But free trade, though profitable to the English manufacturer, was unprofitable to the Dutch, who had no manufactures. Gradually they reverted to the older plan of obtaining tribute by indirect

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[27] *Special Reports, loc. cit.*, "Federated Malay States," p. 8; ". . . Straits Settlements," p. 141.

[28] *Ibid.*, ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 11.

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rule. This developed in 1830 into the Culture System under which the whole of Java became one huge agricultural enterprise, run by the Government untrammelled by parliamentary control. In 1848 the Liberals came into power and, under a parliamentary system, gradually substituted private enterprise for State enterprise. Although the growth of manufactures in the Netherlands gave Java some importance as a market, it was chiefly valuable throughout the nineteenth century as a source of agricultural products under European management, and for this the system of indirect rule was most expedient. The possessions outside Java were neglected, except that from about 1870 European enterprise spread to the East Coast of Sumatra. In British India the encouragement of trade under direct rule gave, or seemed to give, the natives an outlet to the modern world, whereas in the Netherlands Indies dependence upon tribute under a system of indirect rule shut up the natives in their own world. On the other hand the British system gave few openings to Europeans except as high officials and employers, whereas the Dutch system required a large establishment of European subordinates. These different characteristics of the respective systems required a corresponding divergence in educational policy.

The Constitutional Regulation of 1818, in which the Dutch expounded their future policy, was colored by the prevalent Liberalism and recognized the principle of providing instruction for both European and non-European inhabitants. The considerable and growing number of Europeans and Eurasians (juridically Europeans) needed European schools; to these schools natives were cautiously admitted. Under the Culture System a primary course sufficed to equip the lads for such posts as were available. After 1870, Europeans grew rapidly in number: the work in administration and on the plantations grew more complex and required better educated men; and, as Europeans and their families passed more freely to and fro between Java and the Netherlands, they demanded that the schools in Java should be on the same level as those at home. Until 1890 home politics precluded State aid to denominational institutions, and public instruction was mainly in

State schools. In 1900 all the secondary schools and almost all the primary schools were managed by the State, and of the few private schools only nine were helped from public funds. It should be noted that all these schools were meant for Europeans in contrast to the English in Malaya which were open to all classes; they corresponded to the English schools as distinct from Anglo-vernacular schools in India and Burma. This appears clearly in the table below.

EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1900[29]

	Secondary			Primary		
Management	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Non-Europeans*	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Non-Europeans*
Government	7	1,139	19	130	15,642	1,870
Private	..	..	..	21	3,270	51

The course in these schools was mostly academic. Apart from two training schools for teachers there was no provision for vocational instruction. Towards the end of the century the growing use of machinery on the sugar estates called into existence engineering classes; and a demand for skilled "European" workmen was met by trade classes provided for destitute Europeans by charitable organizations.

As regards native education, an inquiry held in accordance with the Regulation of 1818 did not lead to action. Missionaries, admitted since 1814, were restricted to the eastern archipelago, where the people were heathen or already Christian and there was no fear of inflaming Moslem sentiment. In the Netherlands, Liberal enthusiasm waned, and in the Netherlands Indies the reversion to indirect rule obviated the need for a large staff of native assistants. A few members of leading families were sent to learn Dutch in European homes or schools, and some Dutch officials, as office work increased, made private arrangements for training clerks. But under the Culture System there was no economic demand for native education, and the Malays under Dutch rule were as apathetic as were the Malays and Burmans under British rule.

The first acknowledgment that native subordinates required Western education came in 1848 when the Government sanctioned an annual grant of f.25,000 for schools among the Javanese "especially with a view to the training of officials."[30] This measure was strictly utilitarian, but with the revival of Liberalism, more generous views were making headway and found an eloquent exponent in Baron van Hoevell, a Dutch pastor who left Java in 1848 to enter the States-General as an ally of the Liberal statesman Thorbecke. In 1851 the ban on missionary work in Java was withdrawn, and in 1854 a new Constitutional Law for India recommended native education to the special care of Government. "It is our task, our duty," said Thorbecke, "to spread light in India."[31]

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[29] *Jaarcijfers, 1900.*

But, as elsewhere, the humanitarians were ahead of the times. Ten years elapsed before the measure even began to take effect. Then in 1864 Eurasians and natives were made eligible for the higher administrative posts; the Dutch schools, closed to natives since 1848, were reopened to them; the limit of f.25,000 for native education was removed, and an Inspector of Native Education was appointed. In 1867 there followed the creation of a Department of Education, Religion and Industry. The Suez Canal gave a new impetus to commerce and education, and the schools for natives grew in number and in the scope of the curriculum. This became too cumbrous for most pupils. A new "First Class School" was therefore created, primarily for officials; the old schools were retained under the name of Second Class Schools for natives who would remain within the eastern world. The original intention was that native education should be dominated by the State, but financial stringency rendered this impossible, and private enterprise

NON-EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1900[32]

	First Class		Others			
	State		*State*		*Private*	
	Schools	*Pupils*	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Schools*	*Pupils*
Natives......	4	208	539	88,235	840	58,132
Foreign......	..	..	..	..	696	13,349
Orientals.....	..	..	..	..	..	..

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[30] Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie (1931), *Resumé*, p. 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[32] *Jaarcijfers, 1900.*

87/ played an increasing part, especially after 1890 when religious bodies became eligible for grants.[33] Alongside vernacular schools for natives, there also grew up schools for other Orientals.

In addition to these schools there were five schools for the training of teachers and one for training medical subordinates. The ordinary native school served the same purpose as elsewhere in providing townsfolk with an elementary education suitable to their requirements; but in the Netherlands-Indies it did more than this, as it was practically the sole avenue for natives to employment under Government and this was its chief attraction. The training and medical schools also led to comparatively well paid official posts and the students were partly recruited from men with no interest in or intention to practice teaching or medicine, but who could not afford or obtain any other form of instruction.

Indo-China

Aspirations in the Far East brought the French into conflict with Annam in 1858. In that year they took Saigon, and between 1862 and 1867 the rest of Cochin-China. For some time Norodom, King of Cambodia, had been at issue with both Siam and Annam, and in 1863 he accepted French protection; Siamese claims over Cambodia were renounced in 1867 except for two provinces, Battambang and Angkor, which did not come under French rule until 1907. In 1884 the French made further progress by extending suzerainty over Annam; the northern province, Tonkin, came under direct rule, and Annam proper remained a Protectorate. Friction with Siam led to the constitution of a French Protectorate over Laos in 1885-86. In 1898 the French obtained from China a lease of Kwangchouwan in Kwangtung.

In Cambodia and Laos there was an Indian civilization similar to that of Burma and Siam, but the other peoples derived their civilization mainly from China. In all these countries there were native schools. In the sphere of Indian influence there were monastic schools as in other Buddhist lands. In the regions under Chinese influence there was a comprehensive system of education based on the Chinese classics. It was essentially philosophic and religious; and, though many of the people learned to read and write, few went further. But the schools differed from those in Buddhist countries in being formally linked up with the civil administration, and the members of the civil service were recruited from boys who began their education in the village schools and passed by a series of examinations through more advanced schools.

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The French on their arrival in Cochin-China needed interpreters and not philosophers. Although the native system provided "a solid basis of Moral education," it seemed of little value "pour les besoins de la vie pratique." [34] In any case the French could not take over the system, as it broke down when the Emperor of Annam, on ceding Cochin-China, recalled all the officials, including educational officials. Under British and Dutch rule, long years of contact had built up a tradition that officials should be conversant with the native tongue, but few French were able to speak Annamese, and it seemed easier to teach the people French. This agreed with the prevailing colonial doctrine of assimilation. According to the instructions to the first civil Governor, "no sacrifices could be more useful and fruitful than those which the colony should make to familiarize the Annamese with French ideas on morality, science and economics." [35] But educational policy was closely entangled in home politics; the French tradition of a centralized administration tied the colonial government with red tape to Paris; anti-clericalists were jealous of missionary enterprise, and many people were critical of imperialist expansion.

Until 1879 Cochin-China was governed by a succession of admirals. When the southern provinces of Cochin-China were ceded to the French in 1862 stipends were granted to natives who would attend the missionary Ecole d'Adran in Saigon to be trained as teachers in Franco-vernacular schools. This raised the problem of writing Annamese. The current use of Chinese characters enhanced the difficulty of the language and the Government decided to adopt a system, known as *quoc ngu,* devised by missionaries in the seventeenth century for writing Annamese in Roman characters. In 1864 Franco-vernacular schools were opened in the larger centers. But the Annamese though zealous for the traditional learning, remained indifferent or hostile to the new secular schools. Even stipends failed to attract pupils, and schooling was regarded as a corvée, the whole village subscribing to indemnify those who would send their sons to school. Gradually however the people learned that the school led to promotion, and even before the introduction of civil rule the schools were crowded with the sons of notables. Meanwhile the older village schools were disappearing, and attempts to replace them with Western schools were unsuccessful. Thus the admirals "had unwittingly destroyed the traditional education . . . and the problem of mass education was totally untouched."[36]

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[34] Gourdon, H., *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[35] Cited by Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

The civil Governor appointed in 1879 had a special mission to promote assimilation. "On paper schools were established in each village and canton,"[37] but for some years the scheme was not translated into practice. By the end of the century there were about ten to twenty thousand children in village schools learning *quoc ngu* and a little arithmetic, and about five thousand in the Franco-vernacular schools. There were also a few hundred children in schools reserved for European and Eurasians; these could acquire a primary diploma but it was not recognized in France. With a view to promoting assimilation a few native students had been sent to absorb French culture in Paris, but some of them had come back disaffected to French rule. The general result of educational progress in Cochin-China by 1900 was summarized by the Lieutenant Governor. "A few hundred natives could speak French adequately. A few thousand could gabble it well enough to earn a living as servants, cooks, coolies and so on, and the rest were more illiterate than their fathers had been before the French occupation. Meanwhile the curves of crime and European education rose concurrently."[38]

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[36] Thompson, Virginia, *op. cit.*, p. 285.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 286.
[38] Harmand, Jules, *Domination et Colonisation* (1910), p. 264.

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Outside Cochin-China Western instruction made slower progress. In Cambodia French rule was merely nominal, and there was no attempt to change the monastic system of education. In Annam the position was very similar. But Tonkin was brought under French administration and, as in Cochin-China, the French officials depended on native intermediaries in their relations with the villagers. An attempt was made to spread French rapidly and widely, so that no Frenchman traveling anywhere should fail to find some one to whom he could convey his meaning. The people however preferred their children to be taught classical Chinese. The French therefore founded Franco-vernacular schools for training native subordinates and by the end of the century there were some 1500 pupils in these schools.[39] But here, as in Cochin-China the standard attained was far below a complete primary course. Western instruction did not penetrate beyond the provincial capitals and some prefectures, and the native system continued to function in the villages.

The Philippines

The troubles of Spain during the nineteenth century were necessarily reflected in the Philippines. In colonial history the outstanding event was the secession of Mexico in 1823. Until then the Philippines had been governed from Mexico and tied to it commercially and financially, but now they were brought into direct relations with the homeland. Spaniards with the new Liberal ideas arrived in larger numbers, and Filipinos began to send their sons to Europe. The impact of Liberalism and modern progress shook the old concept of education as the handmaid of religion and, though the friars continued to give primary instruction in the vernacular, the University of Manila began to produce graduates with Liberal views. In 1855 a Commission was appointed to consider the improvement of education and, especially, the extension of Spanish. During the 'sixties the Liberal movement made great headway; an Education Code was promulgated in 1863, and two years later the Jesuits opened a Normal School. In 1870 steamers began to

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[39] Brenier, H., *Essai d'Atlas Statistique* (1914).

87/ arrive directly from Barcelona by the Suez Canal, and the immediate sequel was a rapid growth of trade, accompanied, despite a clerical reaction, by a corresponding growth of education with a multiplication of schools and pupils. The conflict between a clerical government and Liberal Filipinos came to a head with the Revolution of 1896, which lasted until the United States defeated first Spain and then the rebels.

The Education Code of 1863 directed that at the headquarters of every township (*pueblo*) there should be at least one primary school for boys and one for girls; in large towns there were to be extra schools for each five thousand of the population. Attendance was to be compulsory and, for the poor, free. (Before resorting to compulsion, however, the parish priest was to exhort the mothers on the spiritual and material benefits of education.) The course would comprise three classes with two grades in the top class. The teachers would be recruited from a normal school maintained by the Jesuits. The parish priests would be *ex officio* inspectors, and the supreme direction was vested in Provincial Boards under the local prelates and a Superior Commission with the Archbishop as President. After five years no Filipino would be eligible for a salaried post under Government without a knowledge of Spanish; after fifteen years a knowledge of Spanish would be required for local offices and for exemption from labor dues. The accompanying Regulations prescribed the primary syllabus: Christian doctrine and sacred history, reading and writing in the vernacular, arithmetic, elementary Spanish and the general history and geography of Spain, practical agriculture, deportment, and vocal music. In the girls' schools domestic training was to replace Spanish geography and history and agriculture.[40] The progress of primary instruction is indicated in the following table, though the figures are only approximately correct.

By the end of Spanish rule the number of schools had risen to 2,167. (The figure 200,000, sometimes given as the total attendance at that time, would seem to refer to boys only.)

There were a few secondary schools, some dating from the early days of Spanish rule and intended originally for Europeans but later opened to natives. The complete course lasted five years, leading up to the baccalaureate; it consisted mainly of Latin and philosophy and neglected natural science. Three of the secondary schools for boys, including the Municipal Athenaeum of Manila, were official institutions but under clerical control, and there were 41 private schools, of which 14 were in Manila. Of the schools for girls two dated from the seventeenth century, and some half dozen were founded in the last half of the nineteenth century; all these were maintained by religious bodies. The secondary schools comprised normal schools for men and women, a college of medicine and pharmacy, a nautical school, a school of painting, an agricultural school, founded in 1887, and about six seminaries for theological training.

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[40] *Census, 1903,* Vol. III, p. 576.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND PUPILS[41]

	1866	*1892*
Boys' Schools		
Number	840	1,087
Pupils	136,108	..
Girls' Schools		
Number	783	1,050
Pupils	9,608	..

Higher education was given in five provincial seminaries in the University of Manila. This was founded in 1619 as the College of St. Thomas and in 1645 was recognized by the Pope as a university with the right to grant degrees in theology and philosophy; also, from 1734, in canon and civil law. In 1785 chairs of literature, Roman law, medicine and mathematics were founded, but the two last were unoccupied for lack of pupils. In 1865 the university was reorganized on modern lines and partly secularized; it produced about three hundred graduates annually. The growth of commerce created a demand for lawyers; in 1883-84 there were 232 students of jurisprudence against 68 taking theology and medicine. At about the same time the students of medicine and pharmacy rose suddenly from 60 to 200.[42] Thus, although education remained under clerical control, the students were turning increasingly to secular careers, and especially the pursuit of law.

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[41] *Ibid.*, III, p. 593. Other sources give slightly different figures.

[42] *Ibid.*, III, p. 626.

From this brief summary it is clear that by the end of the nineteenth century the Philippines were far ahead of any country in the Tropical Far East in respect of educational facilities. They stood alone also in female education. Nor was there any dependency where so many natives had been to Europe for their studies; and among these were the two outstanding figures of the struggle against Spain, Rizal and Aguinaldo.

Thailand

The European invasion of the Tropical Far East during the nineteenth century brought Western influence in due course to Thailand, then still known as Siam. Here the system of education, as of economic, social and political organization in general, closely resembled that of Burma. In every village there was a monastic school attended by all the boys. But Thailand was fortunate in its situation and its kings. The mutual jealousy of France and Britain favored its independence as a buffer State, and though it lost outlying provinces inhabited by Cambodians and Malays, the Thai region was preserved intact under its own rulers, who enlisted the cooperation of Europeans of divers nationalities in transforming the country from a mediaeval into a modern State.

The first step in this direction was taken when King Mongkut (1851-68) engaged an English governess for his heir, and allowed American missionaries to teach the ladies of his court. His successor, Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), visited Java, India and Europe, and not only sent his sons to study abroad but encouraged his nobles to follow his example. He came to look on the monastic schools as inadequate to modern needs, and in 1891-92 tried to effect an improvement by incorporating them in a system of general public instruction under a Ministry of Education. Provision was made in the capital, Bangkok, for instructing officials, and members of the upper classes in the English language and Western learning, and youths were sent in larger numbers for higher studies abroad; but up to the end of the century the mass of the people depended on the monastery for their schooling.

Outside the schools, however, they were already gaining a far wider education in general experience. There was an Italian as instructor of the army; the navy was commanded by a Dane, with Danish and Norwegian officers, and the police, under a Dane, included English police officers from Burma; the Director of Railways was a German, and Germans were also in charge of the Posts and Telegraphs; an Englishman superintended the Forests, and Frenchmen the Medical and Engineering Departments; the Adviser on Foreign Affairs was successively a Belgian and an American, and there was an English Adviser on Finance. But alongside these foreign officials there were Siamese of high rank, gaining experience, and the subordinates were not foreigners, European, Indian or Chinese, as in some other parts of the Tropical Far East, but very largely natives. From these men, serving under foreign officials, and from the students sent to Europe, Thailand was gradually acquiring a modern education and a modern point of view far more effectively than through the schools, and a wider experience than in dependencies where the higher officials were all of one race and servants of the ruling power rather than of the local people.

Review

In this brief survey of the trend of educational progress in the Tropical Far East during the nineteenth century one outstanding feature is the striking synchronism of its course in the component regions. At the beginning of the century in all the countries under European rule we find humanitarian aspirations for the spread of education as a cultural asset: in the Charter of the English East India Company in 1813; in the Constitutional Regulation of 1818 for Netherlands India; under Raffles in Malaya; in the early days of civil rule in Burma; and in the dawn of Liberalism under Spanish rule in the Philippines. Humanitarian sentiment created a new atmosphere and gave a new color to policy, but had little practical effect until economic circumstances were propitious. Then in 1854 the East India Company laid the foundations of modern public instruction in India; in the same year a new Constitutional Law provided for native education under Dutch rule; in 1855 a Commission of Enquiry in the Philippines made regulations that took effect in a Code of Public Instruction in 1863; an Education Department was established in Burma in 1866, in Netherlands India in 1867, and in British Malaya as the result of a committee appointed in 1870. That year the opening of the Suez Canal led everywhere to a rapid growth of trade and a corresponding development of public instruction.

Again, we find all over the Tropical Far East a wide divergence between humanitarian ideals and practical achievements. From 1854 the Government of India gave the first place in its educational policy to raising the cultural level of the masses; Thorbecke wanted to spread light in Java; Phayre in Burma hoped to build up general instruction in the monastic school; the Malayan Government was chiefly concerned to promote the interests of the Malays; the Spaniards wanted every one to learn Spanish; and the French sought to create a new France in Asia. But everywhere the people failed to respond to these advances.

The most obvious failure was in respect of primary vernacular instruction. The natives voluntarily sent their children to the monastic schools, the Koran schools or the schools teaching the Chinese classics; but they were indifferent or hostile to the new secular State schools, except in so far as these promoted individual material advancement. Lay vernacular instruction made slow progress in the towns, where it was of value to the growing class of traders and artisans, but in a preponderantly agricultural society it failed to reach the countryside. The peoples continued in their ancient prejudices and superstitions, unenlightened by the learning of the West, and at the same time in those countries with an old educational tradition, the native schools were losing their pupils and their influence.

On the other hand, Western letters were making rapid headway among the official classes. Schools teaching the appropriate and most useful European language enabled the pupils to earn good pay, conferred a social status and prospects of advancement; and these schools were overcrowded with lads seeking instruction, or at any rate a diploma, as a means of livelihood. But almost the only opening for them was as clerks or subordinates in government or commercial service, and the training in school, though nominally literary and academic, was in fact narrowly vocational. The more ambitious and intelligent men who went to Europe for higher studies but could find no suitable employment on their return, became centers of discontent. Practically the only profession freely open to large numbers of natives was the law, and lawyers multiplied exceedingly wherever there was a demand for them. All this was very different from the roseate hues of the early dawn of Liberalism. The advocates of education had expected to promote Christianity and Western culture, and to forge new links between the Western rulers and their Eastern subjects. But they had created enemies and a reaction against Western rule.

How far was this reaction caused by the ideas implanted by Western education, and how far did it result from the limitation of economic circumstances under which education labored? In their educational policy the colonial powers had not only possessed like aims but common principles. They accepted the fundamental postulates of Liberalism that economic progress is best forwarded by leaving every one to pursue his private interest without interference by the State, and that economic progress is the key to general welfare. On these principles they assumed that economic progress would make for enlightenment; and they thought to spread enlightenment by promoting economic progress. They placed economic progress first and gave enlightenment the second place, looking on it as a by-product of progress. In their primary aim they were successful, to the enrichment of the world and their own material advantage. How far the great mass of the dependent peoples profited materially is questionable, but there is general agreement that on the spiritual plane they were impoverished; the Eastern schools decayed and with them native culture and religion. Western statesmen had looked to transform oriental society by education; they brought into existence a new society, not however by education but by economic forces; and this new society transformed the character of education. While the leaders of the people learned in school that the whole duty of man was to get on in the world, the mass of the people remained untouched by Western culture, and beneath the surface the fires of reaction against the Western world were smouldering.

EQUIVALENCE OF LOCAL GRADES AND STANDARDS

V = Vernacular; *E-V* = European-Vernacular; *E* = European

Norm	*Burma*(a)		*Neth. Indies*(b)		*Formosa*		*Indo-China*	*Malaya*	*Philippines*	*Thailand*
							Elementary, *V*	Malay *V*		
								I		
							I	II		
							II	III		
							III	IV		
Primary	Primary		Lower		Primary		Primary	Primary *E*	Primary	Primary
	V	*E-V*	*V*	*E-V*	*V*	*E*	Lower	Lower Class	*E*	*V*
	I				I		*E-V* & *E*	Upper Class	1	1
I	II	1	I		II		1	1	2	2
II	III	2	II	1	III	1	2	Middle	3	3
III	IV	3	III	2	IV	2	3	2	4	4
		4	IV	3	V	3	Upper	3	Inter-	Secondary
	Second-		V	4	VI	4	4	4	mediate	Lower
V	ary	5	VI	5	Link	5	5	5	5	5
VI		6	VII	6	Link	6	6		6	6
VII		7	Link	7			7		7	7
Second-	High	8	Mulo-Link		Middle		Secondary	Secondary	High	Secondary
ary		9	Mulo	8		7	8	6	8	Upper
VIII		10		9		8	9	7	9	8
IX	Univ.	1		10		9	10	Junior	10	9
X		2	Middle	11		10		Senior		10
XI				12		11		College		College
XII				13				3 Yrs.		1
XIII										2
Higher	Univ. 3 to 6 Yrs.		High School 4 to 6 Yrs.		Univ. 7 Yrs.		Univ. 3 to 5 Yrs.		Univ. 4 to 6 Yrs.	Univ. 3 to 6 Yrs.

(a) In Burma and Netherlands India the Vernacular Course continues to the Xth standard, but has no further link with the European-vernacular, though in Burma any one who has passed the Xth Vernacular may sit for the Xth Anglo-vernacular in English only. In Indo-China and Malaya the Vernacular goes on up to Standard VI.

(b) Pupils in Dutch schools go straight from Standard 7 to Standard 8; pupils from Standard 7 in other schools must spend a year in a preparatory class (Mulo-link) before going into Mulo proper in Standard 8.

CHAPTER IV

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EFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1900-1940

By the end of the nineteenth century Europe no longer granted the two main postulates of Liberal political philosophy. Experience had shown that unrestricted freedom of private enterprise is not the best method of promoting economic progress, and that economic progress is not in itself a sufficient guarantee of general welfare. In the interests of both efficiency and social justice, progress and welfare, there was a growing tendency to look for State aid to private enterprise and for State control over private enterprise on behalf of public welfare.

This new trend of thought reacted on colonial policy. In Britain it found expression in the doctrine of "the white man's burden" which "involved a new philosophy of politics and an ethical standard, serious and not ignoble"[1]; colonial statesmen in the Netherlands preached the "ethical" policy; and in French colonial theory "association" replaced "assimilation." At about the same time two new colonial powers emerged in the Tropical Far East; in 1895 Japan acquired Formosa, and in 1898 the United States took over the Philippines from Spain; and both framed their colonial policy in accordance with the new ideas, though applying them in different ways. Both aspects of the new policy implied a change of attitude to education which was regarded as a main instrument both of economic progress and human welfare; and once again, as in the early days of Liberalism, humanitarians and men of business joined forces in giving a new impulse to educational progress.

In the various countries of the Tropical Far East education, under the direction of a long series of transitory officials, had got into a rut. In India it was still held that "important benefits would be likely to accrue to Government and education by the

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[1] Buchan, J., *Memory Hold-the-Door* (1942), p. 125.

871 relaxation of control," and less thought and vigilance was bestowed on the difficult and delicate problems of education than on problems of administration. In Indo-China "no one worried about such speculations." In Java a project of general public instruction put forward by a regent was waved aside as Utopian. "Qu'était l'enseignement aux indigènes dans la plupart des colonies et possessions d'outre-mer?" asked M. Louwers; and he replied "Bien peu de chose."[2] The system of instruction supplied the necessary subordinates for administration and commerce, and a generation that no longer felt the glow of early Liberal enthusiasm asked nothing more of it.

Yet forces, similar to those turning minds in Europe to ideas of efficiency and social justice, were at work below the surface in the East, threatening to ruffle this sluggish complacency. In some parts unemployment or insufficient pay or narrow prospects were fomenting discontent among the educated classes; in some cheap immigrant labor was stirring up resentment among the lower classes; everywhere debt was a growing burden on the peasant. Economic forces were loosening the bonds of social order and sapping the religious foundations of oriental life. All the material of political unrest was available for leaders with the skill to use it, and these were found among men who had learned the technique of party politics in Europe. Some merely wanted better jobs. Others were more dangerous because they did not want to get anything out of Government but wanted Government to get out, and could stimulate the dormant antipathy of the masses to foreign ways of life by appealing to religion; Tilak in India, Ky-dong in Annam, Rizal and Aglipay and Aguinaldo in the Philippines all used a Western education to proclaim a challenge to the West. Thus when colonial governments were being urged from Europe to move forward, smouldering fires beneath the surface were making their seats uncomfortably warm.

Idealism and a genuine feeling for the common man played their part in the new policy. At the same time common sense suggested that if funds spent on training unemployables and agitators were diverted to enlighten the people by primary instruction, they would be more docile and contented, and better able to cooperate in the plans of a benevolent government for their well being, and the appeal to religious sentiment would lose its sting. Other factors were turning educational policy in this direction. Economic forces were making for the industrialization of the East, and also for a new development of its agricultural and mineral resources along capitalist lines. Vast quantities of cheap labor, local or imported, were available, but modern methods of production required labor that was reasonably intelligent as well as cheap. Primary instruction, it was hoped, would sharpen the laborer's intelligence and make him able and willing to work harder and more continuously and to have greater regard for the sanctity of contract[3]—the only saint in the Calendar of Mammon. Capitalist enterprise also required cheap technical subordinates; and technical instruction was expected to supply these, and also to make for prosperity and contentment by providing employment for the surplus of school graduates and by promoting better cultivation. The cultural and social defects of the system of public instruction were also gaining recognition, and remedies were sought in the encouragement of female education and in ethical and religious teaching.

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[2] Chirol, V., *Indian Unrest* (1910) pp. 212, 238; Harmand, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Bert, J. Chailley, *Java et ses Habitants* (1900), p. 300; Institut Colonial International, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Here then are the main features of the new educational policy that took shape at the beginning of the present century. It aimed especially at developing primary and technical instruction, it regarded literary and academic studies with disfavor, but laid great stress on the education of girls and at promoting high moral standards in the schools. But before this policy was well under way, all the combustible material, long ready to take fire, burst suddenly into flame with the victory of Japan over Russia. This did much to give a new stimulus and a new aspect to the growing impatience of foreign rule; hitherto it had been for the most part critical, seditious, destructive, but now it was inspired by a new constructive patriotism. Formerly

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[3] Chirol, V., *op. cit.*; *Mayhew, Education of India,* p. 226; Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire* (1938), pp. 94, 141, 143.

87/ Orientals had despised Western learning except for its bread and butter value; now they sought it as an instrument of liberation. The nationalists urged the importance of the vernaculars as a vehicle of the nationalist spirit, pressed for more scientific and technical instruction with a view to mastering the magic of the West, and demanded religious instruction in the schools as a prophylactic against the solvent influence of Western individualism. Superficially the nationalist policy in education had much in common with the official program. Nationalists and officials were in general agreement about educational machinery, but they wanted to use it for different purposes. Let us examine how it worked, and with what results.

Burma

In 1900 Burma was still a province of India, where Curzon (1898-1905), a fervent apostle of the doctrine of efficiency, devoted special attention to the problems of education. He appointed a committee to consider them and in 1904 published a Resolution expounding his new policy.[4] This recognized that education had come to be of economic rather than of cultural value. "In India, far more than in England, the majority of students who frequent the higher schools and universities are there for the purpose of qualifying themselves to earn an independent livelihood" . . . and the desire "to realize the manifold advantages as soon and as cheaply as possible tends to prevent both schools and colleges from filling their proper position as places of liberal education." As regards primary instruction Lord Curzon cited with approval the dictum that "among all the sources of administrative difficulty and political danger, few were so serious as the ignorance of the people"; from the economic standpoint, moreover, ignorance placed the cultivator at a disadvantage in commercial transactions and hampered welfare projects. He directed therefore that elementary vernacular instruction should be made a leading charge on provincial revenues, and "its encouragement should be a primary obligation." In secondary schools the course was "too literary in character." Hitherto technical instruction had been "mainly directed to the higher forms of technical instruction required to train men for government service"; the pupils in the few industrial schools looked chiefly to qualify for clerical employment at less cost than in the ordinary schools; and, though agriculture was the chief occupation, some provinces, including Burma made no attempt to teach it, and in others the schools had failed either to produce experts or to attract agriculturists. Now there was a need of technical instruction for the development of Indian industries, especially those resting on Indian capital, and special heed should be given to agricultural instruction; further, after the example of Japan and Siam, men should be sent abroad for higher technical studies. With a view to emphasizing the cultural rather than the economic aspect of education, he encouraged the provision of extra funds for female education, as by this "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than through the education of men." He also alluded to the general belief that "an education modelled upon European principles and, so far as concerned government institutions, purely secular in character, had stimulated tendencies unfavourable to discipline and encouraged a spirit of irreverence." For a remedy he suggested the provision of "moral textbooks and primers of personal ethics" and a stricter departmental supervision over schools and pupils.

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[4] Annexed to the *Report on the Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902.

In this Resolution Lord Curzon had in mind Indian problems rather than those of Burma. In Burma the proportion of literate males was three times and that of females five times the proportion in Madras, Bombay or Bengal; hardly any one had been to Europe for higher studies, and although a few students had obtained Calcutta degrees there was no local university; the output from Western schools was still inadequate to the demand for clerks, and there was no unemployment and no unrest; industrial development had not yet begun, and it could be claimed that Burma "stands high in respect of discipline and moral training."[5] Thus the new educational program could be drawn up on a blank sheet.

Burma had its own problems. One was the strength of the indigenous system of monastic schools. These could neither be incorporated in a secular State system nor disregarded; they gave Burma its high standard of literacy and were the only means of education in more than two-thirds of the villages, but they were not amenable to departmental regulations, their curriculum was limited and their method of teaching out of date. Another problem was that of the Indian immigrant. Burma had been conquered and governed from India. Indians, through long association with the British, were accustomed to modern business methods and, with a lower standard of living, would accept lower wages. With these advantages they had secured a stranglehold on commercial and industrial life and pushed Burmans out into the jungle where they had an advantage over the Indians as cultivators. In commerce the clerks were mostly Indians, and even in government service Indians filled the posts requiring technical qualifications. Naturally, when the Japanese victory over Russia bore fruit in nationalism, one of the demands of Burman nationalists was that places filled by Indians should be given to Burmans. In other respects the nationalist education policy in Burma followed the usual lines: Burmans pressed for scientific, vocational and technical instruction; they advocated, though with less zeal, primary education and urged that it should be made compulsory; they wanted Burmese to find a larger place in the Anglo-vernacular curriculum, and English to be taught in the vernacular schools; they insisted also that facilities should be given for instruction in the Buddhist faith. For a time there was a move to cut loose from the official educational system on the ground that it fostered a "slave mentality," and National Schools were founded which in their early days refused government assistance. But all this was a later development. In the early days of the new official policy at the beginning of the century nothing of this kind was anticipated.

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[5] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1899-1900,* p. 7.

The doctrine of efficiency through closer State control was emphasized by the local Government in official Resolutions[6] by the Director of Public Instruction in 1906.[7]

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[6] *Ibid., 1897-1902,* Resolution.

[7] Cited by Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 133.

"Educationally the axis of the Province has been shifting. *Laissez faire* principles, which preferred to leave the guidance and practical management of education to private bodies or persons more or less irresponsible and with very varying views of the needs of the educated and the ends of education, have been tempered by a fuller sense of the State's obligations in the matter. In effect these obligations have a two-fold relation: they concern the State itself on the one hand, and on the other those whom for the State's sake and their own it is necessary to educate. As thus conceived education is not the necessary accident of a religious propaganda nor the provision of careers in life for various sections of the community. It is rather a vital and essential element in the organic life of the State itself."

In future education was to place first the welfare of the State, and next the welfare of the child, while religion as an element in education was an unnecessary accident. This view found expression in a less sympathetic attitude towards the monastic school, where most of the children learned their letters, and thereby hampered the campaign for extending primary instruction. The Director, while still claiming to base vernacular work on the monastic school, described the monks as "very ignorant, or very bigoted, or both."[8] By 1906 the lay schools (2,899) outnumbered the monastic schools (2,369), and ten years later there were 5,066 against 3,418.[9] In the following year, 1917, vernacular education was made over to local bodies, which had not sufficient funds to maintain all the schools and struck the less efficient off the register. Again in 1921 a new Director from India opened another campaign against inefficiency. The effect of these measures was to reduce the number of recognized monastic schools to 1,434 in 1921, though the schools struck off the registers went on working as before.

The decline caused some perturbation, and in 1924 the question of vernacular education was studied by a special committee. Its report is interesting as an index to the official conception of efficiency. It suggests that "the school's existence should be that of efficiency. . . . The efficiency of the schools should be tested yearly by the results of a first public examination, as well as by other tests, if necessary, and those that fail to reach the desired level should be removed from the register or suffer such other penalty as may be laid down."[10] A further inquiry into vernacular education was held in 1936; the committee held that the monastic schools were of little value as institutions for secular education, and all expedients to bend them to secular purposes had failed. In 1933 there were 4,967, lay schools with 364,669 pupils but the number of registered monastic schools had fallen to 928 with 79,135 pupils; it was estimated that there were some 17,000 to 18,000 unregistered monastic schools with 200,000 pupils. The progress since 1900 is summarized in the following table.

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[8] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1897-1902,* p. 41.

[9] For these and subsequent figures see Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 136.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, 1900-1940[11]

Year	a. No. of pupils at all recognized institutions. b. Per cent of population		a. No. of pupils at unrecognized institutions.* b. Per cent of population		Literacy per cent a. Male b. Female c. Both		
	a	*b*	*a*	*b*	*a*	*b*	*c*
1900	159,394	1.72	147,682	1.62	37.6	6.1	22.1
1940	613,938	3.64	213,294	1.26	56.0	16.5	36.8

*Figures for unrecognized institutions are only approximate.

Figures for "literacy" must needs be somewhat arbitrary; probably many more, if pressed, could write their names and spell out simple notices. Female literacy is highest among Christian Karens (in 1921) with 27.7 per cent as against 12.2 per cent for Burmese Buddhist women, and 4.9 for Buddhist Karens. Despite the progress during the present century the Committee of 1936 put the figure for children of school-going age (6-11) at 1.6 million with 0.4 million at recognized institutions, and 1.0 million not at any school.[12] Moreover, of the pupils in registered schools 75 per cent did not go beyond Standard I and 87 per cent failed to complete the IV standard, reckoned as the minimum for permanent literacy.[13] It would seem therefore that only a small proportion of the registered schools produce much better results from the scholastic standpoint than the unregistered schools, while these still turn out men who, with no other schooling, may rise to be magistrates.

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[10] Cited by Campbell, *op. cit.*, 141

[11] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1900-01; Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

[12] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

One recommendation of the Committee of 1924 was that 250 lay schools should be opened annually for five years in the poorer districts. The actual number opened in accordance with this plan was 1231.[14] But the results were deemed incommensurate with the cost, "the difficulty was to create a demand for the school," and opinion turned towards compulsory education. This was urged by some nationalist leaders and found support among educational authorities. A bill was drafted in 1928 and after consideration laid before the Legislature in 1932, but the cost was regarded as excessive and the difficulties as insuperable. The Committee of 1936 expressed the opinion that "the child cannot be left indefinitely to the mismanagement of ignorant parents"[15] and, deprecating criticism for its "excess of caution," recommended compulsory attendance up to the end of Standard II, for all children voluntarily enrolled in a recognized school. The proposal however was deemed premature; experience in other provinces of India had shown the difficulty of enforcing compulsion except against a recalcitrant minority, and before any such measure could be effective it would be necessary to educate "ignorant parents" to send their children for instruction.

The great obstacle was the lack of demand. The vernacular schools led nowhere. There was a "bridge" from Standard IV in Vernacular schools to Standard III in Anglo-vernacular schools, but of the few students eligible for "bridge scholarships"—some 250 a year—only about one half received them, and after 1934-35 only a quarter.[16] From 1927-28 those who passed the Xth Standard Vernacular were eligible for an Anglo-vernacular certificate on passing in English only. Otherwise the

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 153.

[14] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1928-29*, p. 13; *ibid., 1927-32*, p. 20.

[15] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 190; *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1931-32*, p. 145; *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1936-37*, p. 23.

87/ vernacular pupil had no prospects except as teacher in a vernacular school.[17] The recognition of English as a second language in the early 'twenties reduced wastage in the lower standards in those few schools that could comply with the conditions, and the closing of the lower standards in government Anglo-vernacular schools forced some children into the vernacular schools.[18] But in general the lay vernacular school outside the towns taught the child neither a better way of life nor a better means of living and, without endorsing the description of primary vernacular instruction given by the Committee of 1936 as a picture of "almost unrelieved gloom,"[19] it may be said that progress had certainly come far short of the objective set up at the beginning of the century.

In respect of more advanced instruction there was a still more striking contrast between intentions and results. "The accepted principles," said a Resolution of 1900, "are that Provincial Funds should devote proportionally more money to primary and less to secondary instruction."[20] But in 1937, as compared with 1900, there were 8 times as many pupils in the middle standards (V-VII), 25 times as many in the higher standards (VIII-X), and 15 times as many in the colleges. Meanwhile most money had been spent on the most advanced instruction by the establishment, in 1920, of the University of Rangoon.

PUPILS IN VARIOUS STAGES, 1900 and 1937[21]

1900			*1937*		
Middle	*High*	*Collegiate*	*Middle*	*High*	*Collegiate*
4,997	556	140	41,719	14,249	2,165

These Anglo-vernacular schools were situated in the towns. Of the total secondary school population 30 per cent were concentrated in Rangoon.[22] The course trained the pupils for urban life, and there were not sufficient openings for their employment. Thus by the force of economic circumstances there came into existence the surplus of educated unemployables which Government had foreseen and which the new educational policy had been intended to prevent. On that policy technical rather than academic studies were to be encouraged for pupils in the higher grades. In 1900 there were no organized institutions for technical instruction and, "strictly speaking, no technical education."[23] There was a class for lawyers attached to Rangoon College, but doctors had to go to India for training, though nurses and midwives could be trained in Burma. "It is a popular cry" wrote the Director in 1900, "that technical education should be more largely introduced, and this form of education is spoken of as the great means of reforming the country."[24] At that time only the European community was vocal, but with the growth of Nationalism Burmans added their voice to the cry for technical instruction. Experiments were discouraging. In one town a technical school was founded with public subscriptions; costly buildings were erected and classes in various subjects were arranged, but pupils could not be attracted without stipends, and the school was finally closed as useless because there were no industries.[25] So far as a demand existed students were forthcoming, as for a weaving institute and technical classes for mechanics, etc., in Rangoon. But advantage of these opportunities was chiefly taken by Indians who were cheaper than Burmans to employ, and had fewer openings on the land and in the administrative services.

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[17] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[18] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 21; *ibid., 1933-37*, p. 20.

[19] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[20] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1897-1902*, p. 3.

[21] *Ibid., 1900-01* and *1933-37*.

[22] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

The problem of technical instruction was examined by a committee in 1927. This criticized the ordinary school curriculum as "divorced from realities" and made proposals for expanding technical instruction, but these remained ineffective for lack of funds.[26] By this time the output of the schools was catching up with the demand for clerks, and the unemployment of school graduates was beginning to attract attention. The matter was re-examined, together with vernacular education, by another committee in 1936, but this did little more than lay down two principles: one that vocational educatio should not begin until the pupil has completed a sound "liberal" education; and the other that the provision of vocationa education should be related to an actual demand for specifi technical qualifications.[27] During a discussion in the Legislature it was suggested that "only criminals and defectives coul obtain technical education in Burma." The Director accepte the criticism as "in the main true as regards school children,"[28] but for other persons thought the provision not inconsiderabl for an agricultural country. There is, in fact, provision fo instruction in medicine, law, forestry, veterinary science, teaching, engineering, industry, commerce, and art. But the tota number receiving instruction under all these heads in 1937 wa only 2,488, which is not very adequate for a population of ove 16 million; and of these 1,269 were training as teachers and 613 were in commercial schools, leaving only 559 under all othe heads. The separate figures are given in the table below. It seems that among students of university standing only 32 out

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[23] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1897-1902*, p. 29.

[24] *Ibid., 1899-1900*, p. 4.

[25] Campbell, *op. cit., p.* 392.

[26] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 23.

NUMBER OF TECHNICAL STUDENTS, 1937

	In Colleges	*In Schools*
Law	79	..
Medicine	147	103
Education	141	1,128
Engineering	54	75
Industrial	..	39
Veterinary	..	17
Forestry	..	47
Commerce	..	613
Art	..	45

of 79 in the law school were Burmese Buddhists, in Medicin 23 out of 147, in Education 55 out of 141 and in Engineerin 16 out of 54. In the schools they were better represented, bu these led only to subordinate appointments. In Medicin there were 42 Burman Buddhists out of 103, in Engineering 52 out of 75, in Education 880 out of 1,128, in Forestry 28 out o 47, and in Commerce 344 out of 613. But as Burmans form some 85 per cent of the population these figures are not ver satisfactory to Nationalists. The only schools classed under Vocation and Special Education in which Burmans preponderated were the Reformatories, where they numbered 308 out of 342, still less satisfactory, and giving some point to the gibe in the Legislature.

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[27] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

[28] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 29.

One subject is conspicuously absent from the above list, and that the most important—agriculture. Lord Curzon, in laying down the new policy, noted the absence of agricultural instruction in Burma. In 1924 an Agricultural College was opened but did not attract cultivators and closed in 1932 when recruitment for the department ceased. A vernacular school for cultivators, maintained by the American Baptist Mission, had at one time over sixty pupils,[29] and was well spoken of, but is not mentioned in recent departmental reports. From time to time great stress has been laid on the educational value of school gardens. But they were never popular with the pupils or their parents and were only maintained by schools "for the purpose of getting grants. When the grants ceased the gardens disappeared," and between 1933 and 1937 the number of school gardens fell from 395 to 19.[30] Thus "the all pervading bookishness and the dissociation of education generally from life and occupation" are still, as in 1900, among the chief defects of the system of instruction; it is not designed for a farmer's country, its whole bias is literary."[31] But it meets the economic demand, and the unsatisfactory progress of technical instruction, as of primary instruction, is due to the difficulty of organizing a demand for it. More perhaps might have been done for the teaching of natural science in schools, as this is the basis of most technical or vocational instruction. But this found a place in the curriculum only of recent years and on a very modest scale. In 1936 ten Anglo-vernacular High Schools gave teaching in chemistry and physics, and one only, a girls' school, in botany and zoology; eleven vernacular High Schools professed to teach "General Science," but the course included no laboratory

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[29] *Indian Statutory Commission, 1930,* Vol. XI, p. 509.

[30] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1933-37,* p. 37.

[31] Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 2; *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1933-37,* p. 28.

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work.[32] The suggestion of Lord Curzon that students should be sent to Europe for higher technical studies was disregarded for some years, but just before the depression of the 'thirties the number sent averaged eight a year. The scheme was then suspended for three years, and on its revival seventeen in all were sent in two years.[33] But not a few of those sent abroad failed to find employment on their return.

The progress of female education has been much more satisfactory. The figures for the number of girls in each stage of instruction are compared in the table for 1900 and 1937. In the latter year nearly one third of the children in school were girls. The university and the village schools are co-educational, and so are many of the Middle and High Schools. The proportion of girls who do not get beyond the two lowest standards, however, is higher even than for boys. Those who continue their studies further look very largely to the teaching profession, and their enthusiasm was dampened when access to this was restricted.

FEMALE EDUCATION[34]

	1900	*1937*
College	4	403
High School	63	2,436
Middle School	554	9,376
Upper Primary	1,103	34,367
Lower Primary	4,089	171,429
Total	5,813	218,011

"What beacon of light," asks an Inspectress, "can we hold up to induce girls to seek education in higher departments when the only profession open to educated women has been almost killed by abolishing the teachers' training classes?"[35] Karen and Burmese Christians, however, seem to place a higher value on education as a cultural asset. There has always been a tradition of female education in Burma. It may be a pious fiction that

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[32] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[33] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 28; *ibid., 1933-37*, p. 29; see also *1928-29*, p. 18.

[34] *Ibid., 1933-37*, p. 24. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

[35] *Ibid., 1927-32.*

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during the great age of Burma, about the time of the Norman conquest of England, the girls used to study the Pali scriptures over their cooking pots, but the legend has colored social life.[36] As already noticed, a tenth of the female prisoners were returned as literate in the Census of 1872. There has always been a potential demand for female education, and the growth of trade, which is largely in the hands of the women, has enhanced the value of the schools. Under Burmese rule girls had no access to the monastic schools; only under British rule have they have been given facilities for schooling, and they have taken good advantage of them. Even in monastic schools the prejudice against co-education is breaking down, and of the 8,114 Burman Buddhist girls attending unrecognized institutions in 1937 probably the great majority were in monastic schools.

One reason for the stress laid on female education in 1900 was that it would impart an impulse to the educational and moral tone of the people. In respect of discipline and moral training the schools in Burma were regarded as satisfactory, but new directions were given for the voluntary provision of religious instruction in all the schools. Most lay vernacular schools already included "religious instruction" in their syllabus, but this might signify nothing beyond the teaching of the Burmese alphabet. In the mission school the pupils were expected to take part in the general devotional exercises and to attend the classes in religious instruction. Many lads passed from one school to another. As small boys in the monastery they would be taught the vanity of human wishes; then in a Roman school they would be exhorted to avoid the heresies of Wyclif and Huss; if they went on to a Protestant school, the class would start the day with a prayer for success in the forthcoming examination; and they would probably end their school life in a government institution, where success in the examination was the only thing that mattered. With the growth of Nationalism the practice of imparting Christian instruction to Buddhist boys gave agitators a weapon for attacking a Government which, if not Christian, was at any rate not Buddhist. In response to the agitation, Government introduced a "conscience clause," of which not many parents took advantage.[37] When the political reforms placed education under a Burmese Minister, the instruction of Buddhist pupils in their own religion, formerly encouraged, was made compulsory in all Government and lay schools.[38]

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[36] See, for example, the Census Report for 1872, which describes Burma as "a country where female education was a reality, before Oxford was founded."

Meanwhile the schools were losing their high moral tone. "The morals of the school boys were constantly under discussion." And, what was more disconcerting, the district with the best record for education was equally conspicuous for crime, and was also the center of the most serious rebellion that has ever troubled British rule. On this matter there were two schools of thought. Burmese opinion favored a good knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures as an antidote to all moral evils, whereas educational officials trusted more to closer supervision, football, physical training, and the boy-scout movement.[39] Cleanliness was the next best thing to Godliness, and much easier for inspecting officers to assess, but teachers who preached hygiene seldom practiced it.[40] Neither religious instruction nor football restored the earlier high standards. In five years, 1932-37, there were over thirty school strikes. It was a common practice for schools to obtain grants in ways that would have been fraudulent if not condoned by the department.[41] For seventy years Government had been trying to secularize the monastic schools; now it seemed that "how to spiritualize education was the real problem."[42]

From this brief review of progress under the various heads of the new policy laid down by Lord Curzon, it seems clear that it had not achieved the results anticipated. On the contrary, although in Burma it began with a clean sheet, yet in the next generation education in Burma followed along much the same lines as under the old policy in India and produced the

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[37] *Ibid., 1928-29*, p. 24.

[38] *Ibid., 1927-32*, p. 37.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[41] *Ibid*, p. 17; *Report of the Bribery and Corruption Committee, 1941*, p. 34.

[42] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma [illegible]-37*, p. 40.

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same unsatisfactory results that the new policy was intended to prevent. We shall be in a better position to inquire into the reasons when we have examined the course of educational progress elsewhere.

Malaya[43]

At the end of the nineteenth century conditions in Malaya had much in common with conditions in Burma. The Malays had been left behind by the course of progress, and industry and commerce were dominated by Europeans and foreign Asiatics. Although there was no unrest or unemployment, and the output from the schools was still inadequate to the demand. the system of public instruction was criticized on much the same grounds as in India. It was said to be "unpractical, to make the people litigious, to inspire a distaste for manual and technical work, and to create a class of literary malcontents, useless to their communities and a source of trouble to the Empire."[44] The remedies proposed were also very similar; closer State control, and the encouragement of vernacular and technical instruction.

A more active policy in education was indicated by the appointment in 1901 of a Director of Public Instruction for the whole of the Straits Settlements. To promote "a due measure of uniformity in administration and educational aims,"[45] his charge was extended in 1906 to cover the Federated States. One feature of this appointment deserves special notice. The Director has always been a member of the Civil Service and not of the Education Service. To foster education among an illiterate people is an administrative rather than an educational problem and requires an intimate knowledge of the people rather than scholastic experience; and the fact that in Malaya education has been directed by men acquainted with the people in their homes and not only with the children in school probably goes far to account for the measure of success attained. Further evidence of the renewed interest in education at the turn of the century appeared in the appointment, in 1902, of a Commission to examine the existing system.

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[43] The statistical and other information in this paragraph does not cover the Unfederated States, which it has not been found practicable to include.

[44] Wilkinson, R. J., *The Education of Asiatics*, Special Report, 1902 (cd. 835).

[45] *Education Report*, 1938, p. 8.

Vernacular instruction among the Malays had already made considerable progress, but parents were still reluctant to send their children to school even though buildings, quarters, staff, equipment and books all cost them nothing, and in 1908 the provisions for compulsory attendance, already applied in the States, were extended to the Colony. By this time Malay rulers were looking to modern education as a means whereby their people could withstand Chinese and Indian competition; and their influence, together with the growth of national feeling among the Malays, did much to reconcile the people to secular instruction. But the vernacular schools still led nowhere; even the boys who became eligible for free education in an English school by completing the vernacular course were usually too old to profit by the concession. In 1918 it was made conditional on their having completed the course before their eleventh birthday, and boys admitted under this scheme were given an intensive course in English. This effective link with the English schools made the vernacular schools more attractive. Thus by a combination of gentle pressure and good prospects vernacular education made such progress that now compulsion is almost superfluous and the difficulty now is to find accommodations for all who wish to enter. At the Census of 1931 there were returned as literate 35.5 per cent of the men and 7.6 per cent of the women, with 24.1 per cent for both sexes together, while of the rising generation 80 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls were said to be attaining literacy.[46] The details of those at school are given below.

A new feature of the present century has been the provision of vernacular schools for non-Malays. Formerly this was deprecated as tending to keep them foreigners; but such considerations lost their force in the new zeal for economic efficiency, and in 1902 it was "decided to open Government schools for Tamils . . . with the object of making the Federated Malay States, from the point of view of the Indian immigrant, an outlying portion of India, like Ceylon."[47] With the development of rubber, Indian coolies were wanted in large numbers; the provision of Tamil schools was found to encourage immigration, and planters came to recognize the advantage of opening schools on their estates.

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[46] *Census Report, 1931*, p. 91.

That a large alien population has political and economic disadvantages is, however, already evident in regard to Chinese immigration. The Chinese have always predominated in the English schools, and have also arranged for the instruction of boys outside the English schools. The creation of the Chinese Republic stimulated them to new zeal in founding schools to give their children a modern education in their own tongue. From 1920, *kuo yu,* the "national language," was adopted as the basis of their system, and the textbooks were found to contain much political and anti-foreign matter. These were banned both in Malaya and in Netherlands India, and the publishers arranged to avoid further loss by printing special books for European dependencies. Better control over Chinese schools was obtained by the introduction, in 1924, of a system of grants-in-aid to approved schools, though few took advantage of it before the great depression.[48] Another recent development tending to improve the relations of the Chinese schools with the Government has been the introduction of English as a second language. The basis of control over these and other schools however, rests on the Registration of Schools Ordinance of 1920, requiring the registration of all secular schools attended by ten or more pupils.[49]

As regards the English schools the position has entirely changed since the beginning of the century. Then any one with a smattering of English could get a job, and employers complained bitterly of having to pay high wages to lads who were clerks "neither in *esse* nor in *posse*."[50] The supply of clerks gradually caught up with the demand and, with the depression of the 'thirties, overtook it; now, highly qualified men cannot

[47] Special Report (Cd. 2379), *Federated Malay States,* p. 11 n.

[48] Mills, Lennox A., *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (1942), p. 358 n.

[49] *Education Report, 1938,* p. 23.

[50] Special Report (Cd. 2379), p. 21.

87/ find employment. This threatens "economic disorganization and social unrest," and "one of the gravest problems of today is to devise types of instruction fitting the youth of Malaya for such careers as the country offers." Attempts to reduce the output from schools under Government control merely had the effect of sending more boys to private schools run solely for profit. The table shows that, despite the rapid progress of Malay vernacular schools, the English schools went ahead still faster, and in these schools the Malays lag far behind. Above the Malay classes for students from vernacular schools the Primary Grade in English schools comprises a Lower and Upper Primary Class and Standard I; next comes the Middle Grade (Standards II to V), and then the Secondary Grade with Standards VI and VII and a Junior and Senior Certificate class; one or two schools have a Post-Certificate or High School class.

NUMBER OF PUPILS, 1900 and 1938[81]

	1900	*1938*	
Type of School		*Boys*	*Girls*
Vernacular			
Malay	13,898	59,383	22,984
Chinese	..	66,645	24,889
Indian	..	17,484	8,222
English	9,157	44,323	18,541
Total	23,055	187,835	74,636

The surplus of school graduates has revived interest in technical education. One of the questions examined by the Commission of 1902 was how to give the system of instruction a more practical bent. Further inquiries were made in 1917, 1918 and 1926. The Commission of 1902 reported that there was no demand for commercial or technical training, but recommended that instruction should be provided in lieu of scholarships to Europe, and suggested the inclusion of science in the school curriculum. The scholarships were reduced in number and in 1910-11 abolished; but this discouraged students from going beyond the VIIIth standard, and they had to be restored. A science master was appointed to one school until the war took him away and temporarily extinguished the teaching of science. In 1926 the Committee regarded the circumstances as still unpropitious for technical instruction. In industry "the principal need of the country is unskilled manual labour, which is supplied by the Chinese and Indian immigrants." "We fear," they said, "that many of the youth of this country have a genuine distaste for hard and continuous manual labour"—shared, not improbably, by most members of the Committee.

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[81] *Education Report, 1938*, pp. 77, 80, 81, 82. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

PROPORTION OF PUPILS IN ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR SCHOOLS[52]

		Per cent	
	S. S.	*F. M. S.*	*Malaya*
English	8.2	4.1	6.6
Malay	7.3	18.2	11.7
Chinese	70.9	49.0	62.0
Indian	12.5	28.0	18.8
Others	1.1	0.7	0.9

For technicians the number of openings was limited,[53] and most of the skilled workmen were Chinese, so that Indians and Malays, and even local-born Chinese, had little chance of employment. In the Committee's opinion "the most important educational need of the moment" was an agricultural school.

For some years the Agricultural Department had been recruiting Asiatics, and since 1924 had made provision for instructing them. In private enterprise also there was a limited demand for local men with some knowledge of agriculture. An Agricultural School was opened in 1931, providing a choice of elementary or advanced courses, but stipends had to be granted to attract Malays. The ensuing depression enlarged the field for employment, as Asiatics were wanted in place of Europeans whom the estates could no longer afford to entertain. But the planters preferred Chinese and, though the Agricultural Department gave a preference to Malays, its demands were limited. Very little success seems to have been attained in enabling cultivators to work their land more profitably.

As regards industry, the 1926 Committee seems to have looked at technical instruction too much from the standpoint

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[52] *Education Report, 1938.*

[53] Cited, Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

87|| of big business. For, as elsewhere in the East, the petrol engine has given the local people a fresh start at less disadvantage with their competitors. Not only did Malays come forward to train as fitters and mechanics in European workshops, but many started their own small establishments or set up as taxi drivers. A Trade School was started in 1926 to help them and was so successful that tailoring, carpentry and furniture making were added, though the last two gave less favorable results, as most of the employers are Chinese and refuse to entertain Malay labor.

The Queens' Scholarships were restored in 1923 in the Colony and 1931 in the States—two to each, with one in the States reserved for Malays. Many private students, especially Chinese, go abroad for study. In 1938 students from the Colony numbered 73 in Britain, 47 in Hongkong, 1 in China, 10 in India, 9 in the United States, and 5 elsewhere; figures for the Federated States are not available. The teaching of science was resumed about 1925 and is now popular in the few schools where it is provided.

Professional education began with the opening of a Medical School at the instance of the Chinese community in 1905. Originally it aimed merely at training medical subordinates and "local practitioners in racial sympathy with the peoples of Malaya,"[54] but so rapid was its progress that in 1916 its degrees were recognized by the British General Medical Council. The planters recognized the value of medical attention to their coolies and in 1939, 40 per cent of the graduates were in private practice.[55] The great obstacle, however, is the difficulty of educating the people to appreciate Western medicine, despite strenuous propaganda. For a higher education in other branches of arts and science Raffles College was founded in 1928. It aims at giving a diploma equivalent to the pass degree of a university. Up to 1939, 48 per cent of the entrants failed to obtain diplomas, and of those who succeeded 82 per cent of the men and all the women took to teaching; 11 per cent obtained posts under Government, and only 3 per cent commercial posts. Of recent years, however, the surplus of would-be clerks has made a commercial training valuable, and some schools in Singapore prepare candidates for the examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce. In this matter, as in all branches of vocational and technical instruction, demand is the condition of progress, and it is because demand is lacking that progress is so slow. Details are given in the table. There are

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[54] *Education Report, 1938*, p. 15.

[55] Mills *op. cit.*, p. 368.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS RECEIVING TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION, 1938

	High School	*Technical School*
Education	160	469
Medicine	176	..
Engineering and Industry	154	640
Commerce	..	827
Agriculture	58	..

also 963 students in evening classes. Malays constitute the bulk of the students in education and make a good show in the trade schools but are less than ten per cent of the students of commerce.

In female education there has been marvellously rapid progress. In 1900 there were only some five hundred girls at schools in the States, and the Malay girls' schools in the Colony were "very few and very ill-attended." "There is," said the Director, "no more absolutely ignorant, prejudiced and super-

FEMALE EDUCATION, 1938[56]

Schools	Number of Students *S. S.*	 *F. M. S.*
Vernacular		
Malay	6,324	16,660
Chinese	12,794	12,095
Indian	1,201	7,985
English	8,113	5,449
Private	4,988	

stitious class of people in the world than the Straits-born Chinese woman. Almost the same may be said of Malay women and of a majority of the Eurasians."[57] But the Chinese were converted by the Revolution and their experience during the War, and their example kindled enthusiasm among the Malays, which developed rapidly from about 1928 and ten years later "the flood of applications for the admission of girls could not be stemmed."[58]

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[56] Special Reports (Cd. 2379). *Straits Settlements,* pp. 141, 148.

[57] *Education Report, 1938,* p. 77.

The policy in respect of religious and moral training is much the same as in other British dependencies. Religious instruction is given out of school hours; hostels are regarded as nurseries of virtue, and great importance is attached to school games, which are generally regarded as part of the curriculum popular with the Malays, though some Chinese who "want to learn in order to make money" are apt to grudge the time for recreation. It is doubtful how far the religious and ethical instruction is effective. Non-Christians often "take" religious knowledge in examinations under the impression that it is a soft option, and choose Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* at Cambridge for the same reason. Teachers of hygiene sleep in unventilated rooms and neglect the most elementary precautions as to food and drink that they impress daily on their pupils. Similarly they preach thrift though notoriously in debt. As the Director remarks, until they practice what they preach, their teaching is not likely to be successful.[59]

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 77. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

[59] *Education Report, 1938*, pp. 89, 96; Special Report (Cd. 2379), Federated Malay States.

CHAPTER V

EFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1900-1940

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(*Continued*)

Netherlands India

Under Dutch rule the reaction against Liberalism in the direction of greater State activity to promote efficiency and social justice came to be known as the "ethical" policy. Moral uplift required firm government, so also did capitalist enterprise; and between 1900 and 1910 effective administration was rapidly extended over the Outer Provinces, hitherto neglected. The aim of the ethical policy was to readjust native society to the Western world; this involved the diffusion of vernacular and technical instruction and the provision of facilities for secondary instruction, such as had long been available to natives under British rule.

A prospect of the new policy in its educational and economic aspects was drafted at the request of Government by Fock, a Liberal who had long practiced as an advocate in Java. In 1907, as Colonial Minister, he included in his budget a comprehensive scheme for vernacular and technical instruction. He proposed to open a large number of Second Class Schools. These schools, known later as Standard Schools, are still the usual native schools in towns and resemble the urban vernacular school of Burma. But they were too costly for the villages, and Van Heutsz, the Governor-General, devised a simpler school, teaching the bare rudiments of the three R's, towards the cost of which the village and the parents should contribute. The chief obstacle was the reluctance of the parents to send their children to school. To bring the Department into closer touch with the people, the Director was given the help of an Adviser and Assistant-Adviser from the Civil Service[1] and, by the remission of fees, and by "gentle pressure" through the native officials who, on the Dutch system of indirect rule, retain much of their inherited authority, the prejudice was in part dispelled. There still remained the difficulty that these schools led nowhere. The same objection attached to the Standard Schools, though with less force, as these were helpful to petty traders and artisans. Dutch was the only avenue to social and material advancement. (Later, in 1922, by way of making the vernacular schools more attractive, "link" schools were to be established by which the pupils could find access to a new type of school where they might learn Dutch.)

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[1] *Regeerings-Almanak,* 1930, I, p. 350.

In 1903, in accordance with "ethical" principles, natives were re-admitted into European schools, where they could qualify as clerks. The consequent influx of natives threatened to destroy the European character of these schools, and, to relieve the pressure, Dutch was added to the curriculum of the First Class School. But the natives "valued Dutch only when it led to a Diploma."[2] The First Class Schools did not prepare students for the Clerkship (K. A.) Examination, and they remained unpopular, while the pressure on the European schools continued.

By this time nationalism was becoming a political force. The Chinese were the first to respond, and they began to modernize their schools and to introduce the teaching of English. This was prejudicial to Dutch political and economic interests, and it was arranged that Dutch-Chinese Schools should give much the same course as the European schools and enjoy the same privileges. A similar device was adopted for the First Class Schools, and the natives were thus enabled to obtain a complete primary education through the medium of Dutch. In 1914 the First Class Schools were re-classified as Dutch-Vernacular Schools, which involved no change in the curriculum but paved the way for fitting them into a comprehensive scheme for higher studies.

The new scheme involved the creation of schools where secondary education could be given. In the first instance the de-

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[2] H.-I. Onderwijs-Commissie, *Résumé*, p. 7.

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mand was met by providing schools for More Extended Lower Instruction (M. U. L. O.), or Mulo Schools. These were open to pupils from all schools on a Western basis, Dutch, Dutch-Chinese and Dutch-vernacular, but pupils from the Dutch-Chinese and Dutch-vernacular schools were placed in a preparatory class. The Mulo diploma corresponds approximately to Matriculation in British India. Some Mulo graduates wanted to go further and in 1919 their requirements were met by the creation of General Middle Schools, taking them up to the standard required for admission to a university in the Netherlands—approximately that of the Intermediate Examination in British India. Some Mulo graduates go on to vocational instruction, and some leave school; in 1926 the Mulo course was revised to provide suitably for all three types of student. Similarly, the General Middle School has three sections: Mathematics and General Science; Western Letters; and Oriental Letters.

Two features of the system deserve special notice. One is that in the Mulo Schools the pupils learn not only Dutch but also English and German, and thus have access to a wider field of Western learning than in British India, where few study any Western language except English. The other is the high standard of education. Generally throughout the East the high goal of study is the diploma and not the attainments that it represents, and this drags standards downwards. But in Netherlands India many European children will go to a university in Europe, and their parents demand instruction well up to the necessary standard; attainments are as important as diplomas. The whole system indeed is throughout linked up with that of the home schools. At every stage children in the Dutch schools in Netherlands India must be up to the work of the corresponding standard in Europe, when their parents are at home on leave, and at every stage children in the mixed schools must be able to enter the corresponding standard in a Dutch school. Thus the demand of European parents for a high level of education is diffused through all classes. The proportion of literacy is shown in the table below.

NUMBERS AT SCHOOL, 1900 and 1938[3]

Type and Grade of School	*1900*	*1938*			
	Total	*Native*	*Foreign Asiatic*	*European*	*Total*
Vernacular					
Rural	..	1,826,906	12,480	..	1,839,386
Urban	146,575	276,052	2,163	2	278,217
Chinese	13,349	65	2,200	..	2,265
Primary					
Dutch-Native	..	77,173	1,681	506	79,360
Dutch-Chinese	..	2,100	22,350	396	24,846
European	18,192(ᵃ)	5,236	1,436	39,015	45,687
Secondary					
Mixed	..	7,968	2,612	3,571	14,151
European	1,139(ᵇ)	724	838	4,845	6,407
Total	179,255	2,196,224	45,760	48,335	2,290,319

(ᵃ) Includes 1,921 non-Europeans; (ᵇ) Includes 19 non-Europeans.

LITERACY, 1930

Region	Per cent		
	Natives	*Chinese*	*All Races*
Java			
Male	9.7	47.5	10.7
Female	1.4	16.0	1.9
Total	5.5	33.3	6.2
Outer Provinces			
Male	13.4	33.2	14.5
Female	4.0	7.7	4.2
Total	8.7	24.7	9.5
Netherlands India . . .			
Male	10.8	39.5	11.9
Female	2.2	12.4	2.6
Total	6.4	28.9	7.2

It will be noticed that among natives the percentage of literacy is lower in Java than in the Outer Provinces which, although more backward from the economic standpoint, include districts, such as Menado and the Moluccas, that have long been active centers of missionary effort and contain a large proportion of Christians. Among the Chinese on the other hand the proportion is lower in the Outer Provinces, where coolies are numerous; in Java nearly one-half of the male Chinese are literate.

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[3] *Jaarcijfers, 1900; Statistical Abstract, 1940.*

Despite the growth of education the population has grown even faster, and in 1930 the number of children not at any recognized school was larger than in 1900. Moreover, the figures give an unduly favorable impression, as they do not reveal the wastage. It seems that of the children in the vernacular schools only about one-third complete the course, and of those entering the Dutch-vernacular schools only 45.5 per cent obtain a Primary Diploma, and not more than 14 per cent survive to the end of the Secondary course.[4] On the other hand, some 400,000 children in Koran schools[5] do not appear in the above statement, and there are a few thousand in the "wild" schools, with a nationalist bias and independent of the official system. Some of these have been doing useful work, notably the *Taman-siswo* schools, but many are poor imitations of the State schools. The emergence of these schools has led to a change in educational policy. Formerly European schools had to be registered, but native schools, then unimportant, were exempt. The growth of native education during the present century changed the position; and, when the "wild" schools sprang up, native schools were subjected to the same restrictions as European schools. This occasioned some controversy, and under new regulations of 1932 both Europeans and natives were allowed to teach on merely giving notice of their intention, though for teaching European pupils a diploma was required.

With the growth of education there has been a steady drift of school graduates to the large towns, where they can best profit from their attainments.[6] As the numbers of those who hold diplomas have increased, the values of the diplomas have fallen. Since 1900, about half of those with the Clerkship (K. A.) diploma have found employment under Government. In 1928 the number obtaining the diploma was 6,559, and the average number of vacancies annually was 447.[7] As elsewhere, the overproduction of school graduates has revived interest in technical instruction. At the beginning of the century there were no technical schools, and the few technical classes were

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[4] *Résumé, op. cit.,* p. 32. However, conclusions based on 1930 figures are probably much less valid today.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 72. [6] *Ibid.,* p. 42.

[7] H.-I. Onderwijs-Commissie, *Eind-Rapport,* p. 45.

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a preserve for Europeans. The first technical school was established in 1901 and, with subsequent foundations, provided technical subordinates for the rapidly expanding European enterprise. The war of 1914-18 gave a new impetus to industrial development and caused a shortage of engineers from Europe, and in 1919 the Bandoeng Engineering College was founded by private capitalists. Natives were not excluded except by financial limitations and because their demand for technical instruction was slight; but technical instruction remained largely a preserve for Europeans.

One aim of the ethical policy was to promote industrial development among the natives. Fock attacked the problem along three lines. He hoped to train natives for technical posts under Government, for employment in private industry, and for the creation of native industry. The first objective was not difficult, as the growing extension of State activities opened a field for employment, and the gradual improvement of academic education supplied men with the necessary basis for technical instruction. In all Departments now, the lower and middle grades are mainly recruited from local men with a specialized training of a primary or secondary standard. In private enterprise there has been an increasing demand for skilled labor and technical assistants. In 1910 three trade schools were opened, and the men readily found work. The war, and the relations between Capital and Labor after the war, enhanced the demand for men of this type. New schools were opened at other centers, and also branch schools with a shorter course. But until the depression of the 'thirties enforced rigid economy, only very subordinate positions were open to local men.

Fock's third aim was more ambitious. He hoped to train artisans who would raise the standard of native industry and develop new occupations. But there was no demand for such men in the native world before the introduction of motors and bicycles. Now many men trained in government shops set up as cycle smiths or in various branches of the motor business, and some men find work in the very few native industries. From about 1929 the Government made a serious attempt to develop native weaving, not merely as an interesting craft but as a modern business. They turned the nationalist movement for home products to good account and had considerable success in improving not only weaving but also the ancillary crafts of dyeing, and carpentry for the manufacture of looms. This came in useful when cheap goods from Japan threatened the cotton market, as not only Dutch cottons, but also native cottons were prejudiced. Further experience has shown that the simple hand loom can compete successfully with machinery. The manufacture of hats was encouraged in a similar way. It is still more remarkable that persistent efforts and many experiments seem to have had some success in attracting cultivators to agricultural schools. The secret of this seems to be a close study of agricultural economy, which has made it possible to adapt scientific principles to native practice, instead of trying to adapt native methods to scientific principles.

In higher education, vocational and cultural, progress has been much slower. The leaders of the ethical movement favored sending men to Europe, holding that higher studies could flourish only in a congenial environment.[8] That had never been the Dutch policy, and in 1900 there were only five native students in Europe. For a few years they were sent more freely, and by 1908 the number had risen to 23. Most of them looked for appointments in the higher branches of the government service; but there was some hesitation in admitting them, and the consequent discontent among the students, fanned by the growth of Nationalism, threatened dangerous political reactions. An experiment in sending some of the hereditary native officials was also thought unsuccessful, and the opinion made headway that it was better for Orientals to remain at home.

This implied the provision of facilities for higher studies in Netherlands India for those few with a sufficiently good general education. But the large European population and the high pitch of European enterprise had attracted European professional men who did not relish native competition; the lawyers resisted the opening of a Law School in 1909, and the Medical Association protested against a new Medical School in 1913. On the other hand, the shortage of engineers, caused by the war, induced European men of business to take an active part in promoting technical studies and, as mentioned above, to found an Engineering College in 1919. This was taken over by the Government in 1924; a Law College was founded in the same year, and a Medical College in 1926. All these colleges give a full course of the same standard as a university in Europe. The present war gave a new impetus to local industry, and by cutting off the Indies from Holland, made it desirable to provide industrial training in the East. Other colleges have therefore been added, and the whole complex has been grouped together as the University of Batavia. The following table shows the number of students enrolled.[9]

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[8] Schrieke, J. B. O., in Bradley, E., *The University Outside Europe* (1939), p. 267.

NUMBER OF COLLEGE STUDENTS, 1935-36

Faculty	*Europeans*		*Natives*		*Chinese*		*Total*	
	M.	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*
Engineering	66	3	49	1	31	..	146	4
Law	61	6	204	7	50	9	315	22
Medicine	88	16	243	12	159	16	490	44

The above table shows that women are beginning to seek a career in the professions. The pioneer of female education was Miss Kartini, the daughter of a high Javanese official, who looked on education, and especially the education of women, as an instrument for the advancement of her people. "Educate the women," she said, "and you will find sturdy cooperators in the splendid and gigantic task of civilizing millions." She found a friend in the Director of Education, a leader of the ethical movement, and about 1900 opened a school for the daughters of officials. By 1928 nearly 20 per cent of the native children in the primary and lower schools were girls, and in the missionary centers, Menado and the Moluccas, over a third. In schools teaching Dutch the proportion of girls rose during the same period from about 15 per cent to 30 per cent. The growth of female education among the Chinese is still more remarkable. In 1928, of the total number in all schools, 37.19

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

were girls, and in schools teaching Dutch the percentage had risen from about 11 per cent to 40 per cent.[10]

A notable educational invention is the People's Library. When rural education first started in 1907 the Dutch realized that it was of little use to teach people to read if they had no books, and that the first difficulty was to create the reading habit. Children taught to find a pleasure in reading might continue to read after they left school, and might borrow books even if they would not buy them. Libraries were therefore established in connection with the schools; children may borrow books without payment, but adults pay a small fee. At first all the books were in the vernacular, but later it was found that there was a demand for Dutch books also. By 1937 there were 2,528 vernacular libraries and 158 Dutch libraries lending out some three million books. The books are mostly publications of the Bureau—either indigenous stories rewritten or Western works adapted or translated, both fiction and non-fiction. Now the people are buying the books, which are sent around in vans, and some agents can sell books to the value of fl.1,000 a month. The remuneration of the author or compiler depends partly on the sales, and a technique for translation and adaptation has thus been worked out. The example has been followed on a modest scale in Malaya and Indo-China.

Indo-China

Nowhere in the Tropical Far East was the educational system so keenly criticized at the beginning of the century as in Indo-China. It was blamed both for what it had done and for what it had left undone; in Cochin-China it had sapped authority and broken down the social order; in Annam on the other hand it had taken no hold upon the people. By this time the generous ideal of inspiring the Annamese with French culture had lost much of its attraction. "It was not for its beauty that subject peoples learned the French language, but for its utility"; the study was not so profitable as they had expected, and the bitterest enemies of the French were among those who knew the language best.[11]

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[10] *Résumé*, p. 27.

[11] Harmand, *op. cit.*, pp. 265, 281.

The new doctrine of efficiency was brought to Indo-China by Doumer (1897-1902), but he was preoccupied with administrative and economic problems, and did little for public instruction beyond suggesting principles and founding a trade school in each of the three capitals. It was his successor, Paul Beau, who laid the foundations of the modern educational system. Harmand, writing in 1910, summarized the current French doctrine.[12] Purely native schools should be encouraged, but the teaching of French confined to towns where it would be of practical use, and Western learning extended cautiously. Vocational training was desirable because the Government, planters, industrialists and merchants all wanted cheap assistants, and it would be hopeless to introduce machinery if there were no one to run it or effect simple repairs. But such instruction could be better given in workshops than in schools. Secondary and higher instruction should look to utility and form technicians rather than savants.

The instrument devised by Beau for reorganizing public instruction was the *Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'Enseignement Indigène,* created in 1906, which played a great part in the educational reforms of the next few years. The central idea of the new system was that natives should begin their education in the vernacular schools, and the more intelligent should pass on through French-vernacular primary schools to the secondary stage. At the bottom of the ladder was the Elementary or Village School in which Chinese characters were used, though *quoc-ngu* might also be taught. This led on to the Primary Vernacular School at the headquarters of the canton (township), in which both Chinese characters and *quoc-ngu* were compulsory, and French was optional. A few went on to the Complementary (or secondary) Vernacular School. Western science was added to the curriculum in deference to nationalist wishes, and normal schools were founded to provide teachers and to improve the standard of teaching.[13] The system was first introduced in Tonkin and Annam, and in 1909-10 was extended to Cochin-China. By 1913 there were 49,399 pupils in the elementary stage, and 12,103 in the primary stage. But many remained outside. In Tonkin and Annam there was still a preference for private education, and in Cambodia and Laos there were only the monastic schools. In these the monks were encouraged to adopt modern textbooks, and in 1912 a public examination was introduced for pupils from monastic schools, with an Elementary Certificate for those who passed.[14] The plan was much like that proposed by Phayre in Burma. Like many other projects, not only in education, nor in Indo-China alone, it was introduced with enthusiasm, reported on favorably for a few years—and then forgotten.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 272 ff.

[13] Brenier, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

The Elementary Certificate in the village schools also gave admission to the French-vernacular Primary Schools, which had been opened in Cochin-China since 1879 and in the other provinces between 1904 and 1906.[15] In these schools the medium of instruction was French, which pupils from the elementary school could not understand. A Preparatory Course was therefore introduced, laying special stress on French but using the vernacular as the medium of instruction. In 1913 there were 19,267 pupils in the Preparatory Schools and 17,628 in the Primary Schools. Pupils were expected to complete the primary course by the age of 14, when they became eligible for the secondary schools, where they worked alongside French students.

Meanwhile a course for French students had grown up to meet the needs of the European population. This comprised a Primary Course, with Lower and Upper Grades, and a Secondary Course, with only a Lower Grade—until 1912, when an Upper Grade was opened in one school, which acquired recognition as a Lycée. The total number of French students in 1913 was 1,193 of whom 172 were in the Lycée, together with 84 natives.[16]

The war gave a new stimulus to cultural assimilation and educational progress. In 1915 the competitive examinations for the mandarinate, in which the Chinese classics figure largely, were abolished in Tonkin, "and this was the death sentence for traditional culture."[17] On the other hand, Sarraut (1917-19) compiled a Code of Public Instruction, emphasizing the importance of French, and attempted to amalgamate the elementary and primary schools by taking over the village schools and introducing into them the teaching of French. He also gave new facilities for secondary and higher education. The post-war years saw a reaction against Liberal ideas, typified by Merlin (1923-25), with his "rather negative dread of higher education";[18] and even more sympathetic rulers like Varenne could not resist the current of opinion in favor of primary instruction rather than higher studies.[19] It has however been found necessary to abandon Sarraut's project of taking over primary instruction by the State; it was too costly, and it was also impracticable to provide instruction for everyone in French. In 1924 the division into vernacular and French-vernacular schools was restored; in the former the medium of instruction is the vernacular, with French as an optional subject. Progress was still slow, and in 1926 villages that could not be provided with State schools were allowed to open village schools at their own expense, but subject to official approval and supervision. In Cambodia the monastic schools were still functioning as village schools, and in 1924 a new attempt was made to incorporate them in the official system. Suitable textbooks were prepared, and monks were encouraged to volunteer for training. The experiment promised success, and in 1930 the King "signed a Royal Ordinance . . . to revive everywhere the Pagoda schools."[20] By 1936-37 over a thousand monks had been approved as teachers, and there were 813 pagoda schools with 34,462 boys and 121 girls.[21] (In Burma 928 recognized monastic schools with 79,135 pupils.)

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[14] Brenier, *loc. cit.*

[15] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[16] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

In order to improve the teaching in these schools there are *"Formations de pénétration scolaire,"* which send itinerant teachers around to the pagoda and other village schools. In

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[17] Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 291.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 295

[20] Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, pp. 78, 79.

[21] *Annuaire Statistique, 1936-37* (Hanoi, 1938). Other figures for that year are from the same source.

1936-37 there were 3,740 schools under this scheme, with 155,933 boys and 8,115 girls. The Elementary schools in the same year numbered 2,496, with 135,306 boys and 31,315 girls; and there were 59,399 boys and 16,541 girls in the elementary department of schools of higher standing. The course lasts three years and includes the three R's, some notions of local history and geography, and in some schools a little French.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS, 1936-37

Grade	*Native*		*French*	
	Public	*Private*	*Public*	*Private*
Elementary	406,669	62,423(a)		
Primary				
Lower	55,025	22,986	4,759	2,078
Upper	4,611	5,422(b)	449	587
Secondary	41		1,485(c)	
University	612	..	..	..
Technical	1,889	..	..	..

(a) Includes Chinese schools but not Malay or Burman.
(b) Includes Chinese Lycée.
(c) Includes 675 Natives and Chinese.

In the Village and Pagoda schools the same course is followed so far as practicable, but the aim is to replace them with State Elementary schools. At the end of the course there is an examination for the Elementary Certificate; in 1936-37 only 47,293 were successful and of these 11,804 passed the test in French, and 5,621 in Chinese.

Successful candidates are eligible for the Primary School with two grades, Lower and Upper, lasting three and four years respectively. The Lower Grade schools (*écoles de plein exercice*) have elementary departments. The medium of instruction in the Primary Grade is French, but the aim is to give the oriental equivalent of a modern classical education. The curriculum is based on the local vernacular, French and a classical language, Chinese, Pali or Sanskrit, and it comprises the usual school subjects, including Elementary Science in the Lower Grade and Chemistry and Physics in the Upper Grade. The Lower Grade leads up to the Certificate of Franco-vernacular Primary studies, and is a qualification for some minor appointments, including that of Assistant Teacher, and also qualifies for promotion to the Upper Primary course. This has two branches, one for general students and one for teachers, comprising agriculture, psychology and practical teaching. In 1936-37 there were eighteen Upper Primary schools. Successful candidates receive the Diplomas of Primary Franco-vernacular studies.

In the Primary Grade the education of French children is usually separate from that of natives, but follows along the same lines. In the Secondary Grade both follow the same course and largely in the same schools. In 1936-37 there were four native secondary schools, and of the three lycées two admitted natives. As the native candidates far exceed the vacancies in number, there is a stiff competitive examination for entrance. The course carries on the attempt made in the primary school to give a modern general education on the basis of oriental culture. It lasts three years, and the baccalaureate examination at the end qualifies the student for admission to a university in France as well as to that at Hanoi.

Alongside the public schools there are also private schools. Most of these follow the ordinary course; they comprise both lay and mission schools, with 36,010 pupils in lay schools, mostly Franco-vernacular, and 41,711 in mission schools, mostly vernacular. Missionary work had been hampered by anti-clericalism and was badly hit by the war of 1914-18; since then the annual arrivals have been reduced by two-thirds. The lay schools, about half Chinese and half Annamese, represent progressive Nationalism and aim at combining Western science with Eastern culture. There are also purely Chinese schools—with 13,110 pupils, including 156 in a lycée, and some small Burmese and Malay schools with about 500 pupils. The birth of Nationalism was contemporaneous with the reforms of Beau, and in its early stages found expression in associations for promoting Western learning and modernizing literature, and also, rather later, in a long succession of school strikes, beginning in 1909.[22] Before long Chinese textbooks began to spread dangerous thoughts even in public schools, and unsuitable works were banned. The Chinese and Annamese replied by opening private

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[22] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

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schools. These multiplied rapidly and, with the rise of Communism in post-war China, were regarded as centers of infection. In 1924 the Annamese schools were required to comply with "regulations for scholastic hygiene"[23]—moral, presumably, rather than physical. In 1930 the regulations were extended to Chinese, Malay and Burman schools. The curriculum in these schools is much the same as in the official schools.

The apex of the whole system is the University of Hanoi. This was founded by Beau in 1907 as a concession to the new spirit of Nationalism, and to give ambitious students a local alternative to Japan or Hongkong. But the growth of a more assertive Nationalism caused a reaction, and the university was closed in 1908 and not reopened until 1917, when Sarraut tried to kill Nationalism with kindness. It was reorganized in 1925, with schools of Law, Medicine, Fine Arts, Education, Commerce, Public Works, and Agriculture and Forestry; all but the first three, however, were closed in 1931 as a result of the depression. The course lasts from three to five years. In 1936-37 there were 359 students of Law, 202 of Medicine, and 51 of Fine Arts (painting and architecture); they include some fifty French. Some students go on to universities in France. Official policy has varied greatly, from encouragement to discouragement, according as the students have been regarded as hostages to French culture or as potential rebels, but not a few who have studied in France have achieved notable success.

Female education is backward. In 1913 there were no more than 3,230 girls at school, and in 1936-37, although the number had risen to 63,918 in public schools, 55,971 were in the elementary grade; in the pagoda schools the girls are much fewer than in the corresponding schools in Burma.

Vocational and technical education is also backward. The excessive number of lawyers has been described as "a menace to social equilibrium."[24] The Government has tried to maintain close relations with capitalist enterprise in the provision of "apprentices and qualified workers," and to preserve a strict correlation between the requirements of industry and the out-

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[23] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 14.

[24] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

87/put of the schools; annually local officials report the number of openings available, and admissions into the schools are regulated accordingly.[25] According to a report of 1931 there were three technical schools giving instruction in the handling of iron, wood and electrical apparatus; these were linked up with the navy, marine, and military aviation respectively. "Electricity and mechanics applied to machines and motors (and above all repairs and driving of automobiles) have developed spontaneously and attract the largest number of students."[26] Another group comprised schools of applied art. In a third group there were two schools of apprenticeship and industrial planning. In 1936-37 there were 11 technical schools in all, a school for the blind, and 20 technical departments attached to primary schools; the total number of pupils was 1889, including 314 girls.

No account of French education would be complete without a tribute to the work done in oriental science, literature and art by the *Ecole de l'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi and the Buddhist School at Pnom Penh. As can be seen above, much has been done to promote Western art, and the present writer cannot forget the large number of Annamese in the audience at the Opera House in Saigon. The Dutch have encouraged painting and so, of recent years and on a smaller scale, have the British, but in the cultivation of artistic sensibility, the French unquestionably lead the way.

The Philippines

During the last half of the nineteenth century the conflict in the Philippines between clerical rule and Liberal ideas grew tenser. It came to a head in 1896 with the execution of Rizal, which was the signal for a general rebellion. By 1898 the insurgents were pressing on Manila, when war broke out between Spain and the United States. The war ended in December with the cession of the Philippines to America, and the Filipinos, who had welcomed the Americans as allies, found themselves

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[25] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 12. Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, p. 135; Ennis, T. E., *French Policy and Developments in Indo-China* (1936), p. 175.

[26] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 13.

American subjects. Although organized resistance dragged on until the surrender of Aguinaldo in 1901, the forms of civil government were introduced in 1900, by a Philippine Comission with Judge W. H. Taft as its presiding officer. In the following year he was appointed Governor-General, and three Filipinos were nominated to the Commission. From the outset American rule was inspired by two ideas: the doctrine of efficiency in the interests of economic progress, and the principle of self-government by the introduction of American institutions. At the beginning of the American regime only 15 per cent of Philippine exports went to the United States, but of recent years 75 per cent of all the trade was with the United States;[27] thus there has been a radical transformation of the economic environment. With the growth of American business interests there has sometimes been a trend towards giving the first place to efficiency. But the claims to independence urged by the Filipinos found much sympathy among the large mass of Americans traditionally opposed to Imperialism, and also increasing support from sugar growers and dairy farmers in the United States, averse to the importation of Filipino products at privileged rates, and from labor leaders apprehensive of danger to American standards of living. Out of this conflict of ideas and interests was born the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, constituting the Commonwealth of the Philippines with a promise of complete independence in 1946.

The Spaniards came to the Philippines doubly armed with swords and missals; the Americans came with rifles and school primers.[28] The army leaders held that no measure would so quickly promote the pacification of the islands as the introduction of the American school system. In each new stretch of country occupied, officers were detailed as school superintendents and private soldiers as teachers; altogether the military commanders opened about a thousand schools, for which the General selected and ordered textbooks. The civil government showed no less zeal and imported civilian teachers to replace the soldiers. By 1902 there were 926 American school teachers, but

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[27] Keesing, F. M., *The Philippines* (1937), p. 85.

[28] *Census, 1903,* III, p. 638.

87/ since then the number has declined, and in 1939 out of nearly 40,000 teachers only 80 were Americans. The Government regarded English as the best instrument for inculcating the principles of modern progress, and the Filipinos recognized it as the best means of getting on in the world.[29] English was therefore adopted as the medium of instruction, and, indeed with a large crowd of teachers, ignorant alike of Spanish and the native languages, no other course was practicable.

The teachers were full of missionary zeal to implant the gospel of equality, democracy and love of country, and they succeeded the friars as the general guides and guardians of the people. "Almost without exception they joined the Filipino leaders in spreading the doctrine of Filipino nationality and patriotism";[30] portraits of the national heroes adorned the school-room walls, their lives were related in the textbooks, and the Filipino national anthem was sung daily in all the schools. Through all the phases of American policy the zeal for education has been unabated, and the primary function of the system has been "to facilitate progress along the road to democratic self-government."[31] The Filipinos are no less zealous than the Americans, and even the children take their schooling seriously. The table below gives some indication of the progress achieved.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, 1903-1938[32]

Type of School	*Standard*	*No. of Pupils* *1903*	*No. of Pupils* *1938*
Primary			
Elementary....	1— 4	261,615	1,408,652
Intermediate...	5— 7		250,503
Secondary			
High School...	8—11	4,747	76,084
Collegiate.....	..	436	3,629
University.....	..		7,711
Private.......	..	89,567	129,591

Criticism follows much the same lines as elsewhere: the system is charged with being wasteful and unpractical, and some are uneasy at its secular character. Of more particular application to the Philippines are the complaints that more regard has been paid to quantity than to quality, that the system is excessively directed to political education, and that the use of a foreign language was a mistake. A somewhat unfavorable picture was given by an American Commission in 1925. Their report, known usually as the Monroe Survey, gives the average period of school attendance as less than three years; 82 per cent did not go beyond the 4th grade, took five years to do it, and even then were only on the same level as pupils after the 2nd standard in the United States. From recent figures it seems that 48 per cent survive to complete the 4th standard,[33] which compares favorably with results in countries with a much smaller proportion at school. The political bent, regarded as excessive, would seem to have been a chief factor in getting so many to school and keeping them at school, judged by the standards of the Tropical Far East, so long. But it does not seem to have been very effective in pressing home the idea of democracy; for what has emerged is a one-party government—democratic possibly, but not at all like that intended.

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[29] *Ibid.*, III, p. 647.

[30] Hayden, J. R., *The Philippines, a Study in National Development*, pp. 515-6.

[31] *Census, 1903*, III, p. 671; *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941*.

[32] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

The advantages of English as a medium of instruction were debated until the foundation of the Commonwealth. The chief reason for adopting it in the first instance was practical; in no other language could education be rapidly pushed forward. It has helped to diffuse Western ideas among the people and has given larger numbers chances of employment. But it has never struck home; the pupils, parents and even the teachers seldom use English out of school. In school "both teachers and pupils function in an atmosphere of book-learning,"[34] and in the administration the use of English tends to divorce the officials from the people. As a second language it is likely to survive, but the Commonwealth Government has adopted for official use a modified form of Tagalog, one of the chief native dialects.

The secular character of the system of public instruction has not aroused appreciable opposition. Under Spanish rule the Liberals advocated secular instruction as part of the reaction

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[33] [illegible], p. 472.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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against the clericalism of the Government, and some of the lay schools which they founded still survive. So far as secular instruction was distrusted, hostility was mitigated by the fact that both Americans and Filipinos professed Christianity. But there were some who still valued religion as a basis of education and preferred their old Church schools. These now provide for about 100,000 of the 130,000 pupils at private schools. The old University of St. Thomas has not only survived but has grown lustily; now it numbers 4,000 students and "combines with modern literary and professional training, classical scholarship and the cultural values inherent in that form of learning." Other institutions on the contrary reflect the values inherent in education regarded as an economic asset, and one difficulty has been to prevent them from exploiting the general eagerness for diplomas. Many were eliminated by the recognition only of diplomas awarded by approved schools, and in 1936 the regulations were tightened by prohibiting the opening of any school or college without permission.[35] Most of the reputable institutions follow much the same course as the public schools. The Elementary Grade comprises the Primary Schools with four standards and Intermediate Schools with three standards. Above these come the High Schools with four standards. Graduates from these may proceed either to Collegiate education, vocational in character, in Standards 12 to 14, or to the University with courses of four to six years according to the faculty.

We have seen that under Spanish rule female education had already made considerable progress, with practically as many schools for girls as for boys. American policy was definitely coeducational and encouraged girls to share the privileges of their brothers. One indication of their progress is the foundation of a women's university by a woman who took a prominent part in the struggle against Spain for independence.

Criticism of the system as unpractical hardly does justice to the persistent efforts to promote vocational instruction. From the first the American Government was zealous in the cause of industrial and, especially, agricultural training. A Bureau of Agriculture was established, which in 1910 was placed under the Education Department. Gardening was made part of the school course. In 1902 a trade school was opened in Manila to give instruction in carpentry, plumbing and telegraphy. The Nautical School, taken over from the Spanish Government, was given a more practical charcter, and commercial instruction was provided. Other trade schools were opened at minor centers, and all pupils were required to take a vocational course involving manual training.[36] So far was this carried that at one time the school system became one of the chief industrial enterprises in the country; but few of the boys found jobs on leaving school. It is still, however, a character of the system to combine practical and academic instruction. In Standard IV gardening is introduced; in the Intermediate Grade some schools are specialized as farm schools; in the High School Grade, in addition to the academic and general schools, there are others that specialize as normal schools, rural high schools or trade schools, and some teach domestic economy. After leaving school the student has a choice of training in normal, trade or nautical colleges, or may study a profession at the university. The State University of the Philippines, founded in 1908, had in 1938, 7,711 students with two branches outside Manila. In addition to academic instruction in the humanities it offers courses in law, medicine, pharmacy, veterinary science, education, commerce, music and the fine arts.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

Despite the abundant provision for vocational instruction, this remains unpopular, and the academic course is overcrowded, though the value of its diplomas continually declines. In 1905 any boy from the 4th standard could get a job; in 1912 he had to reach the 7th standard, and in 1925 he required a high school diploma. The Monroe Survey criticized the vocational training as "not suited to the immediate needs of the country,"[37] and recommended every endeavor to attract boys to rural high schools. Another inquiry, in 1930, found that some courses still gave a training for which there was no demand, and that "only a small proportion of the students in the specialized courses in agriculture and the industrial arts later entered the vocations for which they were trained."[38] In 1938, of 76,000 pupils in the high schools, only 9,000 were in the trade schools and 4,600 in the agricultural schools, and "it is a matter of common knowledge that a large proportion of the students attending them are there not because they wish to take the vocational work offered, but because the vocational schools are free and in some cases provide opportunities for self-support."[39] Only the prospect of starvation will drive them, discontented, back to the land.[40] The fact is that industrial education has "operated in a vacuum";[41] business is still largely in the hands of foreigners, and the only openings for Filipinos are in administration, the office and the law. The Philippines, it has been said, are overrun with lawyers.

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[36] *Census, 1903.*

[37] Roosevelt, Nicholas, *The Philippines* (1927), p. 194.

In respect of foreign travel the Filipinos have had much greater advantages than the people in most tropical dependencies. From the early nineteenth century they were studying in Spain and other parts of Europe. When the United States first took over the islands one method of inculcating American ideas was to send a hundred boys from fifteen to twenty-one years old to school in California, with homes in "pleasant private families."[42] It is said that since then thousands have studied in America, and more than five thousand have gone elsewhere. In addition to these some ten thousand have gained a wider experience of the world in America and Hawaii.[43] The Filipinos also gained practical experience in administration not merely as subordinates but in responsible positions. Already in 1921 many were heads or acting heads of departments, and practically all the assistant chiefs were Filipinos.[44]

The recognition of the Commonwealth has given a great stimulus to education. Since then the school population has risen by over 600,000. Another recent feature of the national effort to raise the general standard of intelligence is a nation-

[38] Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-21.

[39] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[40] Keesing, *The Philippines*, p. 90.

[41] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

[42] *Census, 1903*, III, p. 669.

[43] Malcolm, G. H., *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (1936), pp. 357, 376, 380, 381.

[44] Keesing, *The Philippines*, p. 97.

wide organization for adult education.[45] The movement made little headway until taken in hand in 1932 by the Bureau of Education, which enlisted the support of the Y. W. C. A. and similar institutions. In 1936 an Office of Adult Education was constituted and by 1940 there were over six thousand adult schools manned by fifty thousand volunteers, with half a million students enrolled in adult classes; and two and a half million educational publications were distributed. The enthusiasm to which these impressive figures bear witness may subside, but hardly without leaving some permanent impression on the people. But until quite recently the country was ill provided with books and other reading matter. The total circulation of the daily papers was only 200,000,[46] and the only public library was in Manila; even the University had no adequate library. The Filipinos were not a reading people. Now the Manila Library has branches in all the chief towns. The new enthusiasm for adult education is closely associated with the prospect of early independence. From Spanish times education has been entangled in politics, and under American rule no educational problem could be considered without reference to its political bearing, "independence rather than education was at stake." In the University issues were clouded by personal rather than by national politics. But a friendly critic suggests that in the long run professional educationists may find greater difficulties in dealing with a popular electorate than they have found hitherto in their relations with the representatives of American authority.[47]

Formosa

From 1662 until 1895 Formosa was under Chinese rule. Chinese immigrants pushed back the aborigines and during the nineteenth century rapidly increased in numbers. But the administration was slack; and the immigrants, mostly of the lower classes, were in general illiterate. In the last half of the century missionaries opened schools, and after Formosa was constituted a separate province in 1886 the Provincial Government began to take steps to educate the aborigines. But material development and education were alike backward when the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894. When Formosa was ceded to Japan in the following year, the people, mainly of Chinese birth or origin, attempted armed resistance, proclaiming a Republic, but this was suppressed before the end of 1895. The country remained under military rule until the appointment of the first civil Governor-General in 1918.

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[45] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 531.
[46] Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[47] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

The Japanese theory of colonial policy is that "the economic development of the country must come first. Education and the raising of the standards of the people will follow. Afterwards political development may be possible,"[48] but as an integral part of the Japanese Empire. The progress that has been achieved in both economic development and education is astonishing, but what chiefly strikes the observer is the zeal and pertinacity displayed in linking up the economic and cultural life of the country and people with those of Japan.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF FORMOSA, 1897-1937[49]

	Population (000)				*Imports*		*Exports*	
Year	*Formosan*	*Japanese*	*Year*	*Expenditure (£000)*	*Total (£000)*	*Japanese*	*Total (£000)*	*To Japan*
1904 . . .	2,916	53	1897	1,049	1,276	210	1,266	372
1938 . . .	5,393	310	1937	15,644	32,21[illegible]	24,114	44,016	35,363

Yen at rate of ¥10 = 1£.

The picture of economic progress given by the table above finds a companion in the progress of education. In the early days schools were opened to provide interpreters but met with violent resistance; teachers were murdered and schools burned down. The Japanese reopened the schools under military protection as language schools, where volunteers gave an intensive course in Japanese. Active resistance subsided, and in 1898 systematic public instruction was started with the opening of village schools, with Japanese as the chief subject and as the medium of instruction.[50] The Formosans "looked upon the education offered by the Japanese with suspicion; they had no desire for their children to learn to read and write Japanese, and consequently refused to send them to school." But they "gradually came to see the advantages of securing a good education for their offspring, and of course other subjects besides Japanese were taught. In many of the schools not only was education free, but the students' living expenses were paid as well . . . schools were, to begin with, only established in areas where the consent of the inhabitants had been obtained. At the same time a large number of old-fashioned Chinese schools were allowed to continue."[51] By 1904 considerable progress had been made in overcoming Formosan antipathy, and there were 153 schools, with 23,178 pupils, of whom 2,655 were girls.[52] The Japanese victory over Russia enhanced Formosan respect for Japan, and the subsequent China renascence stimulated them to seek modern education in the only form available. Numerous associations sprang up to promote Formosan interests, economic, cultural and political, and, within limits, the treatment of such aspirations seems to have been not unsympathetic, though any one transgressing those rather narrow limits soon found that the Government knew how to discourage dangerous thoughts.[53] At the same time, a strong formative influence was exercised by the predominantly Japanese administrative and economic environment, and the system of public instruction was directed to reinforcing this environment by cultural training.

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[48] Hayden, R., "Japan's New Policy in Korea and Formosa," *Foreign Affairs*, II, p. 474.

[49] Figures for 1897: Rutter, Owen, *Through Formosa* (1923), pp. 280, 282; for 1904: *Census, 1904*, cited, Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 150; for 1937-38: *Far Eastern Yearbook, 1941*.

In all the schools, from the lowest standard, the medium of instruction is Japanese. As the Formosans do not speak Japanese at home, they cannot attend the same primary schools as Japanese children. In the Primary Grade there are two sections, each with three standards. The Lower Primary School, such as is found in most villages, concentrates on Japanese, and goes only to Standard III. In the Upper Primary School the curriculum includes elementary science and may include agricul-

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[50] Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
[51] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[52] Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
[53] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

NUMBER OF SCHOLARS, 1939[54]

Class of School	*No. of Pupils* *Japanese*	*Others*
Kindergarten and Primary	49,028	569,308
Middle		
Boys	5,123	4,129
Girls	5,312	2,558
Vocational		
Two years	1,822	5,751
Full course	3,342	2,626
Normal	1,788	..
Higher		
Academic	192	91
Vocational	600	141
Private and Special	..	5,644

ture, commerce, and English; Chinese is optional. After the Primary course the native still requires two years' study before he is fit for the Middle Grade and even so is backward in comparison with the Japanese who has been using his own language. Thus Japanese children have an advantage in the examination qualifying for admission to the Middle School. The children are eligible for this school from the age of twelve. The ordinary course lasts five years for boys and four years in the corresponding school for girls, known as the Girls' High School. The curriculum includes physics, chemistry, law, economics, and English, French or German. In the girls' schools it is adapted to their special requirements. The figures given above indicate the notable progress of female education; doubtless Japanese example has had great influence in this matter. Some Middle Schools have a High School Department, with a course of three years in preparation for the University. The Imperial University was founded in 1929 and provides courses in literature, science, and politics; there are also vocational schools of university standing. The full course at the university takes seven years; but for students who have taken the preparatory course at school, four years is sufficient.

After completing the primary course students may go on to vocational or technical schools instead of going to the Middle School. One feature of the Japanese system is the high proportion of vocational students in comparison with those in the Middle School. Most of them take a short two years' course, with a wide choice of subjects and this is especially favored by the Formosans, who presumably find, that even with longer training, it is difficult to make headway where commerce and industry are dominated by the Japanese. The same explanation would account for the large number studying agriculture, but the figures under this head are of interest as suggesting that the Japanese have made some progress towards a solution of the difficult problem of relating agricultural instruction with practical agriculture. The comparatively small number of Formosans in the University and High Schools may be due partly to the Japanese policy of encouraging them to seek for higher education in Japan, but more probably reflects the Japanese predominance in the direction of industry and commerce.

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[54] *Far Eastern Yearbook, 1941.*

NUMBER OF STUDENTS RECEIVING VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION[58]

Grade and Kind	*Students*	
	Japanese	*Others*
Middle School		
Short Course	1,822	5,751
Full course		
Agriculture	588	1,432
Industry	963	468
Commerce	1,791	726
Education	1,788	..
High School		
Agriculture	181	5
Industry	201	28
Commerce	238	26
Medicine	80	82

Private education plays an insignificant part in the system of instruction, and the missionaries, who were the pioneers of Western education in Formosa, suffered a grievous blow when the growth of public instruction enabled the Japanese to order the closure of the elementary department in missionary schools. In recent years practically the whole system worked towards strengthening the process of assimilation, for life in a society with a considerable Japanese element and wholly Japanese in its economic environment. The progress of education under

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[58] *Ibid.*

Japanese rule is certainly a remarkable achievement, and one would like to know how it has been accomplished. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* But we have a picture of their system among the aborigines, and it is not one that people who still enjoy a democratic heritage are likely to adopt. Education is not compulsory, but the parents are encouraged to entrust their children to the Japanese. The teacher is a policeman, and the school is sometimes in the police station. When after five years the children are allowed to return home, they have been transformed from wild aborigines into civilized Japanese.[56] That is not education but "conditioning." How far gentle pressure has been carried to the same lengths among the Formosans is not clear. And whether the Japanese, even if they escaped disaster in the present war, will attain their goal of assimilating the Formosans may well be questioned. A sympathetic critic summarizes the results of twenty-five years of Japanese rule as "law and order, economic prosperity, elevated standards of living, widespread education and rising political discontent."[57]

Thailand

Chulalongkorn, though working to remould his land on modern lines, maintained the tradition of personal rule until 1895, when he created a Legislative Council; but this rarely met, and exercised no influence. In 1925, however, King Prajadhipok on his accession appointed a Supreme Council of State as an advisory body, and in 1927 formed a Committee of the Privy Council. But these bodies merely represented the hereditary aristocracy, and the Crown retained its full traditional and legal powers, while the actual administration was controlled by the various foreign departmental heads or advisers. As Siamese who had studied abroad grew in years and numbers, they became impatient alike of an autocratic tradition that they thought out of date, and of foreign control that seemed no longer necessary. In 1932 some of their leaders formed a People's Party and induced the king to accept a constitutional form of government. A Popular Assembly was convened, and this gave a small body of military leaders and progressive civilians, acting in the name of the People's Party, the opportunity to seize power. A royalist insurrection failed, and early in 1934 the king left for Sumatra on the plea of ill health. The party leaders remained in full control of the government, and in 1935 the king abdicated and was succeeded by a ten-year-old son, then at school in Switzerland; in fact, however, there is a one-party government under party leaders who allow no free political discussion. Under the monarchy, though the higher aristocracy were wealthy, the control of economic life rested with Europeans and Chinese. There was a strong Chinese community and, in the south, a large body of unassimilated Malays. One feature of the new government has been an attempt to promote the economic development of the people, especially in agriculture, and to bring the economic life of the country under national control.

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[56] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[57] Hayden, *loc. cit.* For another view see note, p. 112 below.

The progress of public instruction in Thailand has features of special interest. In subject countries attempts by the government to improve education have been suspect as inimical to national progress, and similar attempts by nationalists have been regarded as subversive. In Thailand there has been no such conflict. The educational system, as modernized by Chulalongkorn, survived with little change, though in 1921-22 all children from seven to fourteen years of age were required to attend school. (In 1935 the age limits were changed to eight to fifteen.) Of recent years, however, it has been replaced by a new system on Western lines.

The new system recognizes four classes of schools:

(a) Local, or Village, Schools, maintained by the government;
(b) Municipal Schools, in urban areas with public corporations;
(c) Government Schools, as models of progressive education;
(d) Private Schools, mostly missionary institutions.

So far as practicable the monastic schools were incorporated in the system as local schools, but in many villages they were supplemented by schools which, though housed in monastic buildings, followed the official curriculum under lay management. In 1934 out of 9,001 local schools, 6,519 were monastic precincts, though only 1,219 were monastic schools. The table

87 below shows the distribution of pupils at the various schools. Although the introduction of compulsory education was not immediately effective, in the course of ten years provision had been made for 90 per cent of the districts, and in 1937 there was said to be a school available everywhere for children of the primary grade.

NUMBER OF PUPILS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOL, 1939[58]

Class of School	*Number of Pupils* *Boys*	 *Girls*
Local	714,521	611,379
Municipal	30,410	28,182
Government	42,180	19,117
Private	78,037	43,928

Primary instruction comprises four standards (*pratome*). In 1934-35 there were 801,571 children in the two lowest standards and 248,640 in the next two. The teachers are largely *pratome* graduates, employing the old-fashioned methods of instruction of the monastic schools. In the secondary course there are six standards (*matyome*), divided into a lower and upper section, each of three standards. In the upper section there is a choice of two courses, linguistic and scientific. The total number of secondary students in 1934-35 was 44,784. On completing the secondary course the student is eligible for admission to the Preparatory or Intermediate College at Bangkok. As appears from the above table, there are almost as many girls as boys at school. The system is not intentionally co-educational, but the country cannot afford separate schools for girls, and the parents do not want them to be separated in the primary grade. Boys and girls are usually separated in the secondary schools but meet again in the university.[59]

In theory the primary grade, and each section of the secondary grade, should end with two years' vocational instruction on an appropriate level. In 1934-35 however, only 5,058 were in the vocational grades. Some local schools offer carpentry, hat-making, agriculture and "hand-work." The Government schools comprise normal, agricultural and trade schools with a wide range of courses: building, carpentry, tailoring, printing, domestic science, and almost every other form of activity from secretarial to silver work. Private schools offer instruction in foreign languages, pedagogy and hand-work, and the press advertises numerous courses in commerce, dress-making, and so on. In 1934 a School for National Song and Music was established by the Department of Fine Arts.

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[58] *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

[59] Landon, K. P., *Siam in Transition* (1939), p. 101.

Higher education dates back to 1880-81 when a cholera epidemic induced Chulalongkorn to start a movement for a modern hospital. Funds were collected and plans drawn up. Then in 1886 one Siriraja died. Tradition required an imposing cremation with elaborate booths. The king directed that these should be made of good timber, so as to be serviceable afterwards, and they were used to build the Siriraja Hospital. At first this taught both the Siamese and Western systems of medicine, with the natural result that the better system gradually replaced the old. The course was at first for three years and aimed at producing medical assistants, but it has been extended to six years, and the first M. B. was granted in 1931. Up to 1940 it had produced 142 graduates, and the total number of Western doctors was barely 500. In course of time other institutions were founded to train men for administration, law, public works and survey, the agricultural service and the army. There were also three schools, known as the Royal Pages' College, to train children of good birth for service at the Court and in the higher administration.[60] In 1917 the medical and administrative schools were amalgamated as the Chulalongkorn University. In 1937 the old Law School was remodeled as the University of Moral and Political Science, with a view to training "men

NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1936-37

Arts and Science	473
Medicine	106
Nursing	166
Pharmacy	1
Engineering	94
Architecture	32

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[60] Graham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

87 capable of taking part in the conduct of affairs to whom the voters might grant their confidence."[61]

As already noticed, Thailand has been able to draw on all the countries of the modern world to gain administrative experience, and it has had the like good fortune in education. In 1934-35 there were 410 foreign teachers in private schools. Of these 74 came from the modern West including 30 Americans, 20 French, 11 English. The foreign Asiatics included 291 Chinese, 3 Japanese, and 31 Indians. Thailand has been fortunate also in its freedom of choice in sending students abroad. In 1937-38 there were said to be some 600, with 200 in Japan, 200 in the Philippines, 100 in England, 50 in France, 50 in America and 20 in Germany. Many of these were private students, but the State scholars numbered 12 in Japan, 11 in the Philippines, 32 in England, 10 in France, 11 in America, 2 in Germany and 1 each in India and Indo-China. The budget allotment under this head was B.482,000 (£44,000). Formerly State scholars were chosen by influence, but of late years they have been selected after a stiff competitive examination.

The modern system of public instruction is wholly secular, or rather, wholly nationalist. Inspectors, hankering after modern progress, report unfavorably on the monastic schools that still survive, and these are, it seems, gradually to be replaced by official schools. Even where the official schools are within monastic precincts, the monks take no part in the instruction and are no longer an important factor in the school. Many regret this departure from tradition, and there is a movement to found private schools on modern lines but with a religious background. In 1934 the Premier, when opening a normal school for monks, expressed the view that the Law of the Buddha is the best instrument of education, and to impart it no one is more worthy than the monk. In the private schools maintained by missionaries it seems that the Government imposes no restrictions on religious teaching.

Outside the schools various organizations promote social education. The Boy Scout movement was taken up as far back as 1911 by King Rama VI, who founded a Siamese branch

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[61] *Siam Chronicle*, June 10, 1937, cited Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

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under the title of the "Tiger Cubs Association," which has spread into every village. The Cub-leader is usually a school teacher, and most of the members are his pupils. The aim of the whole movement is to strengthen nationalist ideas and to foster a national spirit. There are about ninety thousand members. Another movement that has much the same impulse is the Junior Red Cross, started in 1922-23, with a view to training young people to become effective members of the adult Red Cross Society. It now has about a hundred thousand members.

The chief instrument of adult education is the correspondence department of the University. One feature of this is that the course ends with about fifteen days in residence, during which the students live in camp under quasi-military conditions, and combine lectures and sightseeing with physical and military exercises. One obstacle to the spread of a modern attitude to life has been the lack of books and the absence therefore of the habit of reading. Of late years there have been attempts to encourage translations into Siamese by men who have studied abroad, and "regular book stores have been opened in the larger centers with a good supply of books on law, medicine, agriculture, politics, foreign affairs and so on."[62] The only library on any considerable scale is that in Bangkok, though one or two provincial towns have made a beginning, and school libraries are not unknown. The Chinese seem to be taking a lead in this matter. "Every small village where Chinese congregate has its Chinese reading room. And every small town is visited periodically by the Chinese bookseller."[63] There are many Chinese newspapers, and novels, magazines and newspapers in Siamese are beginning to attract a considerable public.

Review

In our review of educational progress during the nineteenth century we noticed that, in general, public instruction in the various countries of the region derived from a common impulse, developed through approximately contemporaneous stages along much the same lines, encountered similar problems,

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[62] Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

87/and led generally to much the same results, which were very different from those anticipated. During the present century likewise all Governments adopted much the same policy, and the lines of progress have been roughly parallel; in some matters all have failed, but in others a varying measure of success has been attained. Before venturing on an explanation of the facts it may be well to summarize them.

The main objective was to diffuse primary instruction. The figures for the number of children now at school are certainly impressive; as one half or more leave school before attaining permanent literacy and even from the lowest standards they give too favorable a picture, but they will serve for a comparison between the various countries. From the tables on pages (pp. 111-112) it seems that generally most children are at school where the largest proportion of the revenue is spent on education; but it is uncertain whether more children go to school because more money is spent, or whether more money is spent because more children go to school. The first table does show however, that the Philippines, Formosa and Thailand stand out in a separate class.

In the *Philippines* nine-tenths of the children at school are in public schools. There is only one system of public instruction, and the medium throughout is English. The percentage of the population at school is 11.54.

In *Formosa* practically all the children at school are in public schools. The medium of instruction is Japanese, but there are two separate primary courses, one for the Japanese and one for natives. Promotion to the secondary grade is by a competitive examination in Japanese in which the natives are at a disadvantage. Even in order to be eligible for this examination the natives must study for two years longer than the Japanese. Despite these obstacles the proportion at school is 11.36 per cent.

In *Thailand* nine-tenths of the children at school are in public schools. There is only one system of instruction, and the teaching is mainly in the vernacular, with no language barrier against promotion to the highest class. Education was made compulsory in 1921-22, but for some years the rules were in-

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effective. Including private schools the proportion at school is 10.65 per cent.

Among the second group *Malaya* leads the way. There are two systems of instruction, one with English and the other with the vernacular as the medium of instruction. The Malay vernacular schools are public schools and others are largely private. There is a formidable language barrier between the vernacular and English schools; and, though a bridge has been set up to help Malays across the gap, comparatively few can do so. Compulsory instruction was introduced locally in the last century and has been gradually extended, but it has not been rigorously enforced, and compulsion is no longer necessary. The percentage at school is 7.76, but this figure excludes the more recently incorporated and backward Unfederated States.

Burma has three distinct systems of instruction: English, Anglo-vernacular and vernacular. In the first, English is the medium of instruction; in the second Burmese is used in the lower standards, and in the vernacular schools the local language. The great majority of the schools are maintained by local authorities, by private institutions, mainly religious, or by individuals, and the Government exercises control over them by grants. Anglo-vernacular schools are freely open to all who can afford the fees, and a few boys from the vernacular schools obtain bridge scholarships enabling them to pursue their studies in Anglo-vernacular schools. In the university, where the teaching is in English, and in public examinations conducted in English, boys from English schools naturally have an advantage. The percentage of the population in recognized institutions is 3.92, but the monastic schools are, on the whole, as good as many lay village schools in Burma or elsewhere and, including these, the percentage rises to 5.45. This figure however excludes the Shan States.

In *Netherlands India* there are three systems: Dutch, Dutch-vernacular, and vernacular. In the two former, instruction is in Dutch. Private institutions, mainly religious, play a useful part in Dutch and Dutch-vernacular education, the latter chiefly managed by local authorities under the control of Government. Language operates as a barrier against both Dutch-vernacular and vernacular pupils; the former require a preparatory year before entering on the secondary grade, and vernacular pupils in the "link schools" require an extra year to reach the level of those in Dutch-vernacular schools. The unrecognized institutions are mainly Koran-schools, where mental discipline is far below that in Buddhist monastic schools; excluding these the percentage of the population at school is 3.35.

In *Indo-China* there are three systems of instruction: French, French-vernacular and vernacular; in the two former the medium of instruction is French. All natives must start in the vernacular schools and, unless they drop out on the way, end in a French school or in a French-vernacular school with an identical curriculum. The native takes seven years to reach the standard attained by French pupils in four years, and before admission to the secondary grade has to succeed in a competitive examination. French and French-vernacular instruction is partly managed, under State supervision, by private institutions, mostly religious, but vernacular schools are under the direct control of the State or local authority. Including private institutions the percentage of the population at school is 2.47.

Female education was another objective. The table below gives figures to the nearest thousand for the boys and girls at school, so far as this information is available. In the Philippines and Formosa the figures seem to be in much the same proportion as in Thailand. In Malaya the former prejudice against female education has been so largely overcome that now it is difficult to provide accommodation for the girls, but this dates only from about 1928. In 1928 a fifth of the native children in the primary and lower schools in Netherlands India were girls, but the proportion has probably risen since then. Co-education

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT SCHOOL BY SEXES

	In Thousands	
	Boys	*Girls*
Burma	498	218
Malaya	193	76
Indo-China	511	56
Thailand	866	702

is a matter of policy only in the Philippines, but elsewhere it is general for children below twelve and in the universities.

In respect of higher academic instruction the Philippines are far ahead. But here it has been encouraged, whereas elsewhere more regard has been had to restricting the surplus of educated unemployables. Despite this there has been a general increase in secondary and higher instruction, and universities have been founded everywhere except in Malaya. The high figure for secondary students in Formosa is largely due to the inclusion of 10,435 Japanese; elsewhere Burma, with 14,969 students, and Malaya, with 15,066, have the largest number in proportion to the population.

One great object of policy was to encourage scientific, vocational and technical instruction. This was also a leading feature of nationalist policy. Yet the results are disappointing. Two different methods have been applied. In the Philippines, and to some extent in Thailand and Malaya, there has been an attempt to combine vocational with general instruction; elsewhere vocational and technical instruction have been given in special schools or classes. Not much detailed information is available as to the progress made in teaching science; but few reach a stage where it can usefully be studied, and it has little practical value where scientific vocations are so backward. Despite numerous enquiries and experiments, technical instruction has made little progress, and only in Netherlands India has there been even moderate success in the attempts to teach agriculture to prospective cultivators.

There remains the last, but in some respects the most important item in educational policy as it took shape at the beginning of the century, the attempt to reinforce social order by giving a religious and ethical color to a secular system of instruction. As the inadequacy of moral textbooks and primers of personal ethics became more apparent, interest tended to shift from moral to physical training. The "white man's burden" became "an almost meaningless phrase"[64] except to scoffers, and in the Netherlands Indies the most ardent supporters of native progress were among the first to react against the

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[64] Buchan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

87/ "ethical" policy.[65] A review of the latest Education Report for India notes the "complete absence of any reference to religion or religious education" and the single "depressing and colourless paragraph" devoted to "moral instruction."[66] Provision for religious instruction seems to have had little effect, and the problem of reconciling secular education with religion has proved even more difficult than that of reconciling religious institutions to secular instruction. Cleanliness comes next to godliness and is easier to inspect, but the teachers themselves do not practise the lessons they teach in hygiene and thrift. One feature of the present century has been the growing popularity of team games, and especially of football, and also of the Boy Scout movement. These have struck root among the people but, though good in themselves, the frequent reports of school strikes suggest that they have not been effectual in promoting discipline and a respect for authority. The main problem is still, as at the beginning of the century, "how to spiritualize" a secular system of instruction.

Lord Curzon ends his Resolution on educational policy with a characteristic specimen of his practiced eloquence. After pointing out all that had been done "to elevate the standard of education in India and inspire it with higher ideals," he goes on to invite the cooperation of Indians. "It rests," he said, "with the people themselves to make a wise use of the opportunities that are offered to them, and to realize that education in the true sense means something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations, that it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind, that it should form character and teach right conduct—that it is, in fact, a preparation for the business of life."[67] In this eloquent appeal he is thinking, like so many others, of what education might or should be. In fact, in the Tropical Far East, education, or rather instruction, is not a preparation for the business of life, but preparation for a life of business; and it does not rest with the people themselves to give it a wider content. The schools, the people and the governments are subject to the control of economic forces.

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[65] Boeke, J. H., *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy* (1942), p. 102.
[66] Mayhew, A., *Overseas Education, 1941*, p. 75.
[67] *Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*, p. 475.

POPULATION AND SCHOOL ENROLMENT

	Burma	Neth. India	Formosa	Indo-China	Malaya	Philippines	Thailand
Year	*1936-37*	*1938*	*1938*	*1936-37*	*1938*	*1938*	*1939*
Population, millions....	13.10	68.41	5.75	23.00	3.46	16.25	14.90
Private or unrecognized..	201,307	450,000	12,088	93,649	60,265	129,591	121,965
Primary							
Elementary and							
Lower, 1–4..	*458,148*			*466,453*		*1,408,652*	
Upper, 5–7..	*40,700*			*5,160*		*250,503*	
Total....	498,848	2,269,761	611,559	471,613	189,631	1,659,144	1,442,780
Secondary							
Lower, 8–10.	*13,734*				*14,679*	*76,984*	
Upper......	*1,235*				*387*	*3,629*	
Total....	14,969	20,558	17,093	1,890	15,966	79,713	(a)
Higher Academic...	509	(b)	282	612	(b)	7,711	872
Total Recognized schools only.......	514,326	2,299,319	641,022	474,145	208,279	1,746,568	1,443,652
Including Private, etc..	715,633	2,740,319	653,110	567,641	268,544	1,876,159	1,568,617
Per cent of population							
Recognized schools.....	3.92	3.35	11.16	2.06	6.02	10.75	9.69
All schools..	5.45	4.01	11.36	2.47	7.76	11.54	10.65
Vocational							
Technical...	2,067	33,085	13,311	2,630	3,093	13,311	(c)
Higher.....	421	1,101	2,629	366	759	2,629	(c)

Sources. Burma: *Report on Public Instruction, 1932-37.* (Figures exclude Shan States): Netherlands India: *Indisch Verslag,* Pt. II, 1938; Formosa: Yearbook of Far East, 1941; Indo-China: *Annuaire Statistique, 1936-37*; Malaya: *Malayan Yearbook and Education Report, 1938* (Figures exclude Unfederated States). Philippines and Thailand: Population, *Statistical Yearbook, League of Nations, 1940*: Education figures from *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

(a) Included under Primary. (b) Included under Higher Vocational (c) Included under General.

Notes. In Netherlands India the private schools are mostly Koran schools; in Burma the monastic schools and elsewhere private schools in general are on much the same level as public schools. For comparison the "recognized school" figures should be taken for Netherlands India and "all school" figures elsewhere. Higher professional training is classed sometimes on Academic, sometimes on Vocational.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY, EDUCATION AND FINANCE

	Burma	Neth. India	Formosa	Indo-China	Malaya	Philippines	Thailand
Year	*1938-39*	*1938*	*1937-38*	*1936-37*	*1937*	*1938*	*1939-40*
Population (mil.)...	15.96	68.40	5.50	23.50	5.29	16.25	14.90
Imports (£mil.)....	15.57	56.89	32.21	11.62	82.18	31.32	17.70
Exports (£mil.)....	36.39	81.60	44.02	20.48	106.47	34.59	19.66
Expenditure (£mil.)	11.54	74.15	15.64	12.10	17.98	16.40	11.28
Percentage spent on Education.......	6	6	11	12	5	20	11

Local currencies converted at rate of £1.00=Rs. 13.3; Fl. 8.75; ¥.10.00; Piastre 8.35; Singapore dollar, 8.50; Peso 8.50; Baht, 11.00.

Figures for percentage of expenditure on education from *Annuaire Statistique* for Indo-China, *Statesman's Yearbook* for Thailand, and for Netherlands India, Formosa, Malaya and Philippines from *Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, pp. 67, 84, 90, 105, 116.

Populations as at December 31, 1938 from *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations, 1940.*

Other figures based on *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

Supplementary Note

Up-to-date information on education in Formosa is not easily obtainable in Western languages and most Western writers have not been able to make any very critical analysis of the Japanese-language reports and statistics on education. A recent exception to this statement is Mr. Andrew J. Grajdanzev whose book *Formosa Today* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942) contains a section on education based on the Japanese sources. Because his information is more detailed and because his conclusions are more critical than those of the sources cited above (pp. 95-100), some of his paragraphs are here reproduced in an Appendix below (pp. 175-179). *Editor.*

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL SUPPLY AND DEMANDS

We set forth on this inquiry into the progress of education in the Tropical Far East in the hope that it might furnish suggestions as to the function of education in tropical countries that have been brought into economic contact with the modern world. We remarked that, despite widely different views as to the aims of education, most people look on it as a most potent influence in moulding society, and have high ideals as to what education should or might do, but at the same time are perplexed and uncertain as to the efficacy of existing systems and as to the right lines for future development. Our inquiry serves to explain the perplexity, for everywhere we have found a wide divergence between intentions and results, and sometimes results quite contrary to those intended. During the Liberal period humanitarians were disappointed in their hopes, and the nineteenth century ended with a general restatement of educational policy. Yet the new policy has been little more successful than the old. One new factor, the nationalist movement, has emerged, but the nationalist educational program has had much in common with official policy, yet neither governments nor nationalists nor both together have managed to get what they wanted. They have wanted more and better schools of various types for various purposes. They have advocated or experimented in compulsory primary instruction; but, under any form of rule congenial to Western democratic traditions, compulsion is of no avail except against a recalcitrant minority. They have founded schools and classes for technical instruction, but the facilities provided have been neglected or abused. The one condition for the success of an educational policy is not what government or a nationalist party may want, and not merely what the community in general may vaguely want, but what people want, or can be made to want, so urgently that they will

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pay for it either individually or as a community to the extent at least of going to school or sending their children to school. The crucial factor in matters of education is the economic demand for schooling or instruction. Let us look at educational policy from the standpoint of demand.

Where progress in primary instruction has been slow, the general complaint is that the people do not want it. In all these countries the parents have long sent their boys to the village school, Koran, Monastic or Confucian, to learn the way of life and be equipped as members of society, but they do not want to send them to the modern public school. Why should they? Certain grounds on which primary instruction has been advocated may immediately be ruled out as irrelevant. It is suggested that an instructed population will be more docile and contented, that schools are cheaper than machine guns, or, in the words of Lord Curzon, that there is no greater danger to the State than an ignorant people. That may or may not be true. Of the political exiles from Java nearly three quarters had been to school; in Burma most of the rebels of 1931 were literate, and the district with the best record for education holds also the worst record for crime; in Cochin-China the curves of crime and Western education rise concurrently.[1] So far as it is true that education makes subjects easier to govern, there is reason for teaching them but none for them to learn. Nor will parents send children to school to make them work harder, more continuously and with a keener sense of the sanctity of contract. Again, it is argued that a literate people will be better able to cooperate in the benevolent plans of Government for its welfare, will be more ready to welcome model latrines and sanitary slaughter-houses. But that argument will not appeal to parents ignorant and careless of modern hygiene; until they have been educated in its principles, they will not send children to school to learn them.

On material grounds there is only one argument to which parents will respond. They soon learn that a child profits by learning the language of the ruling power, and stint themselves and borrow money to give their children this advantage; and they will be just as ready to send their children to the village school if this will give them a better start in life. It is often suggested that the school will help cultivators to make more money, or to escape the clutches of the moneylender. But is this true? Townsfolk in Burma need more arithmetic than is taught in monastic schools, and in the towns and larger villages both boys and girls are sent to school, and nearly as many girls as boys. In the recognized primary schools (Standards I-IV) there are 201 thousand girls to 257 thousand boys; but the public school hardly touches the rural area, and in three quarters of the villages the only school is in the monastery. Attempts to provide public schools for rural areas show that there is little demand for them. The cultivator takes readily to new crops and new methods as soon as he learns by example and experience that they are profitable, but the boy who is taught agriculture in school looks for a job in town. The man who knows how to write no longer makes his mark on the moneylender's promissory note; but he is just as ready to sign his name. The Burman is conspicuous for literacy but equally conspicuous for debt, and the most literate districts are the most heavily indebted. One will not easily induce parents to send their children to the public school on the grounds of material advantage, for the benefit of universal primary instruction is social rather than individual.

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[1] Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, p. 70; *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1927-32.*

But the people soon learn that knowledge of a European language may be profitable, and do their utmost to send their children to a school where they may learn it. Even a smattering of the language confers social prestige. The supply of school graduates overtakes the demand, and there accrues a surplus of educated unemployables. But that is no deterrent; it is on the contrary a stimulus to further effort. When boys can no longer get jobs from the IVth standard, they work on to the VIIth standard, so as to have a better chance, and so on upwards to matriculation and university degrees. They do not want learning but diplomas, but with every raising of the standard, diplomas lose their value and larger numbers of students are thrown on to the scrap heap. The diplomas are subject to the law of diminishing returns which, translated into human values, is the law of increasing discontent; but so long as education, or rather instruction, is dominated by economic forces, boys will press on to higher and still higher standards in the hope of finding jobs; if the worst comes to the worst, they can become lawyers.

But why lawyers, rather than doctors or engineers? Which do the tropics need most, lawyers or doctors? Doctors. Which profession, medicine or the law, does the State most encourage? Medicine. And what do we find? Too many lawyers and too few doctors. The Philippines are overrun with lawyers; in Indo-China the annual output of lawyers is "a menace to social equilibrium"; under British rule the plague of lawyers is a general complaint; under Dutch rule, for special reasons, lawyers have been less numerous but now seem to be increasing. Everywhere on the other hand there is a shortage of doctors. In Burma for a population of thirteen million in 1921 there were little more than a thousand modern doctors, and these were in government service or in towns where Europeans congregate. In Siam, with fourteen million people, there are barely five hundred doctors, and, outside the capital, practically all are in government employ.[2] Why are there so many lawyers? One explanation is obvious and seems sufficient. All classes of the community, European, foreign, Asiatics and natives, must bring their causes before Western courts and need the help of Western lawyers. There is a demand for Western lawyers, and the supply tends to exceed the demand, lowering standards of legal practice, until it becomes synonymous with sharp practice. Matters are different with medicine. Everywhere the people prefer their native healers. "Burmans don't care for English medicine"; a few years back the foremost Burmese official expressed his content with Burmese midwifery. In Java, though native medical training goes back nearly a century, people are still doubtful of European methods. In Siam "the old style doctor was still in 1939 the one to whom the masses of the people in the country ordinarily turned in time of sickness."[3] The native

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[2] *Report on the Indigenous System of Medicine (1931)*, p. 21; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[3] *Report on the Indigenous System of Medicine*, p. 22; Leeuw, H. De, *Crossroads of the Java Seas* (1931), p. 109; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

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does not want the Western practitioner and cannot afford the fees that the cost of Western medical training makes it necessary to charge. The European on the other hand prefers a doctor of his own race. Thus, outside government service there is practically no demand for native doctors qualified in Western medicine. The East needs doctors, but there is a demand for lawyers, and lawyers are many and doctors few.

Similarly there is a very limited demand for engineers and other technicians. In the construction of village buildings, roads, bridges, irrigation works and so on, Western methods are no more demonstrably successful or economic than they are in native agriculture. With the exceptions, already noticed, of bicycles and the petrol engine, the demand for technicians hardly extends beyond the Western element in the community. Western enterprise has preferred to recruit its superior staff from Europe, so that local men had had no prospects of high advancement. Even subordinate positions have often been difficult of access to natives. In Malaya attempts to encourage agricultural instruction among Malays have been hindered by the preference of planters for Chinese assistants. Carpenters from the technical schools have been unable to get work because Chinese master carpenters would employ only members of the hereditary guild. In Burma Indians enjoy the doubtful advantage of a lower standard of living. Everywhere technical instruction for natives comes up against barriers raised by established interests and economic forces. The native cannot expect technical or vocational instruction to be remunerative in comparsion with the prospects open to him in other lines and, naturally, does not join a technical school unless he can be tempted by free tuition or a stipend to attend the school for its incidental advantages and without meaning to exercise the special skill it teaches. There is no economic demand for technical instruction.

It seems then that all educational effort in the tropics is conditioned by the economic environment; the Western school in the tropics does not teach children how to live, but how to make a living. And the environment reacts, not on the Western school only, but on the native Eastern school. The Eastern schools lose much of their educational and social value through the drainage of their wealthier and brighter pupils to the Western schools, but that is not the only nor the most serious damage they sustain. Their end has been, not to teach the children how to make a living, but to teach them how to live. Now the mediaeval world in which they taught them how to live has vanished and the schools lose their meaning and decay. It is no wonder that in Burma the yellow robe is coming to be a symbol of hostility to the Western world and Western values.

Not a few advocates of Western education, perplexed and uncertain at the frustration of their efforts and reversal of their values, will sympathize with the protest of the Buddhist monk. When undertaking this inquiry we noted a tendency to identify education with instruction, and remarked that this suggested a disregard of the difference in environment between East and West. That suggestion our inquiry seems to confirm. Modern education in the West has three features: it is commonly identified with instruction; it is dissociated from any form of religion except Nationalism; and it teaches the means of living and not the way of life. But these distinctive features are recent developments, superficial, and the school functions in an atmosphere of old tradition, inherited values and a common social life. We can transplant the school and system of instruction to the East, but not the atmosphere in which it functions. In the modern tropics economic forces have free play. They are not as a rule counteracted effectively even by Nationalism, for Nationalism in the plural society of the modern tropics is a misnomer for sectionalism, and there is no common social will by which economic forces may be restrained. Education has not produced this environment, but it has taken color from the environment, and instruction is sought merely as a means of individual material advantage. It is a preparation for the life of business; how can we convert it into a preparation for the business of life? How can we liberate the school from economic bondage, so that it may once again teach children how to live?

This has been done in the past. The early Europeans, and especially the Spaniards, got the children into schools which made no attempt to promote material welfare; but they did this by giving them a Christian environment. The Moslems did the same thing by surrounding the school with an atmosphere of Islam. We see the same thing happening at the present day with Christian missionaries and their converts; the children of the converts go to school not to learn how to make money but to be confirmed in their new faith, and it is among native Christians that we find the largest proportion of children at school and the largest proportion of female literates. Even the highly educated Karen Christian woman, we are told, goes back to her home, while the Burmese women with a higher education wants a job. If we look rather more closely at the progress of primary instruction we can see the same thing happening on a larger scale.

Leaving aside Formosa, the two countries which show the greatest progress in primary instruction are the Philippines and Thailand. In both there have been specially favorable circumstances, and in both the adoption of a single system of instruction has opened a career to talent. But in both countries the chief impulse to the progress of primary instruction has been the nationalist drive behind it. In the other countries foreign governments have inevitably been critical of nationalist enthusiasm, and nationalist leaders have had less zeal for primary instruction then for higher education, which, as they hope, will equip them for handling national affairs. In these countries primary instruction has made less progress, but a comparison between them is suggestive. Malaya presents features of special interest. There was no tradition of literacy or education; secular education was distrusted, and the women of all races were "absolutely ignorant, prejudiced and superstitious." Except for those few who could cross the barrier into the English school, vernacular education led nowhere and offered no material reward. Yet, within little more than a generation, we find boys and girls elbowing their way into the schools. How, under a foreign government, can we explain this miracle? Compulsion has been gradually extended, but seems to have had little effect until it was no longer necessary. One, possibly the determinant, factor has been the new Chinese enthusiasm for learning that has been a high note of Chinese Nationalism. This has given an example and a stimulus. But it has been turned to good ac-

871 count by a happy co-operation between British and Malay authorities. The Chinese in Malaya are conspicuous not only for their zeal for learning but also for their success in industry and commerce, and the Malays have been stirred up to emulation. The British Government has always taken up the position that it has a special duty to the Malays and, with the growth of the Chinese in numbers and economic power, has become more actively solicitous for Malay interest. Educational propaganda among a backward and suspicious people is a task for the administrator with a knowledge of the people rather than for the expert in educational technique, and one reason for the progress in Malaya may be the appointment of a civil servant rather than an education official as Director of Public Instruction; moreover for some years the head of the department was outstanding in his knowledge of Malay life, language and literature. He was able to impress on Malays the need for education if they were not to be driven further into the background by Chinese and Indians. Again, on the Malay side, he was not confronted with a crowd of unorganized individuals. When Phayre tried to improve monastic education in Burma he had to deal separately with each school, as there was no centre of clerical authority. But in Malaya there were the Sultans, men able to appreciate the Director's arguments; one is a barrister, and all know English. At the same time, under a system nominally at least, of indirect rule, they could use their influence to induce people to send their children to school, not with a view to their individual advantage but for the welfare of the Malay people as a whole.

Netherlands India suggests much the same reflections as Malaya. Here also there was a language bar, and the great mass of the people could hope for little profit from the vernacular school. It was not until 1907 that, under the "ethical" impulse, the Government tried to spread primary instruction widely; and, considering that it was forty years behind the British Government in Malaya, the progress has been little less remarkable even if the present figures for attendance are less striking. And it has been achieved by similar means. The Head of the Education Department was given the assistance of an Adviser and As-

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sistant Adviser from the European Civil Service for the promotion of rural education, and native officers with hereditary influence have used "gentle pressure" to encourage the people to support the schools. One important function of officers in the lower ranks of the Native Civil Service is to act as school-attendance inspectors.

In Burma no such machinery has been available, and the care of education has rested primarily with departmental officers, largely concerned with the numerous and urgent problems connected with the rapid growth of Anglo-vernacular education. Thus, in comparison with other countries, primary instruction has made less progress and it is the unrecognized monastic school which has enabled Burma to retain a leading place in the record of literacy. In Indo-China the language barrier is more formidable than in Burma, and education is in general less attractive because the higher posts are much less freely open to natives than under British rule. The French, moreover, possibly through their tradition of assimilation, seem less sympathetic than the British to nationalist aspirations. If economic advantage and nationalist sentiment are the two main factors in the spread of primary instruction, it is not strange that Indo-China should occupy the lowest place.

Yet the progress in Formosa warns us against too readily accepting any simple formula for encouraging primary instruction. Here there is a single system of instruction, and the child entering the lowest standard has no further language barrier to cross because, as in the Philippines, he must struggle across it at the beginning. But the prospects of material advancement are remote, and the Japanese system is based on the suppression of nationalism. Yet Formosa stands among the highest in the proportion of the people at school. Presumably the example set by the large Japanese contingent in sending all their children to school provokes emulation among their subjects. The strongly Japanese character of the economic environment may be another factor in furthering the study of Japanese. It seems, too, that the Formosans were so taken with the Chinese zest for learning that they welcomed it even through the medium of Japanese. And the Japanese method of "conditioning" the

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aborigines suggests that they carry "gentle pressure" to its extreme limits. One would certainly like to know more about education in Formosa, but the progress made there does not necessarily invalidate the conclusion suggested from experience elsewhere that, where the economic motive is inadequate, the cultivation of national sentiments and aspirations is the best method of getting the children into school. In general the great obstacle to primary instruction is that illiterate parents do not want their children taught to read and write. They want them brought up in their religion, and to be taught their letters so far as this is incidental to their religious training. But secular instruction will bring the children no material advantage, and they can appreciate no other reason for sending them to school. Before we can instruct the children, we must educate the parents, and nationalist propaganda is one way, and apparently the only way of educating them.

Nationalism, like other religions, takes education out of the sphere of economics and supplies a motive that is superior to economic considerations; but although it transcends economic laws it cannot dodge them. It may induce parents to send their children to school where they can learn to read and write, but it will not automatically create a reading habit. For that it is necessary to provide books. This may seem a simple matter, but it raises difficulties, both technical and economic, that deserve examination. All these countries have their literature, but they have no books. In England, in living contact with the modern world and in the center of world affairs, upwards of 15,000 books are published every year. But in Burma, dependent almost entirely upon books for contact with the cultural aspects of the modern world, barely a hundred books a year are published, and most of these belong, not to the modern but to the mediaeval world. Of the comparatively small number of people who read English only a few have access to the one public library in Rangoon, and that is very inadequate to the requirements of a modern capital. Even in Rangoon it has not yet been found possible to establish permanently a modern bookshop. Nor are the people better off for newspapers. In 1930 the total circulation of Burmese daily papers was less than 10,000.[4] Elsewhere conditions are generally similar. It seems that in the Philippines quite recently the total circulation of daily papers in all languages for a mixed population of fifteen millions was only about 200,000. If people have no books they will lapse into illiteracy, and the money spent on providing them with schools will have been wasted. The older literature is largely religious, poetical, conventional and hardly intelligible to the ordinary man. If the people are to read they must be given books that they *can* read, and the written language must be modernized, as was found necessary in China. That is a difficult and, except under a national government, a delicate task. But that is not the chief difficulty. It may seem easy to put, say, into Burmese a popular handbook to modern science, such as sell by the hundred thousand in Europe. These, however, are written for a more or less sophisticated public. Huxley wrote popular works for an unscientific generation. But the science in his books is out of date and the modern handbook assumes that the general reader has assimilated Huxley's teaching. A popular handbook for Burmans at the present day must explain modern science to readers whose science is that of ancient Greece. Even a Huxley could hardly manage that. Again, it has been said that those who know Burmese know nothing else, and that those who know anything else know no Burmese. The graduate in science can write English but he is a poor hand at writing his own language intelligibly. Apart from these and other technical difficulties there are economic difficulties in selling books at a price that the people can afford and that will yet remunerate writers and publishers. In Burma it was held that there was no demand for translations as there was no reading public for such matter,[5] but in Netherlands India there has been an attempt, largely successful, to organize a demand for books both vernacular and in Dutch. Make the people want to read, and they will want to learn to read and will pay for schools where reading may be learned, as part of their education for life in an adult society which has acquired the reading habit. But to build schools and

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[4] *Indian Statutory Commission, 1930,* XI, p. 272.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 296.

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Similar considerations apply to all welfare projects. Local authorities may frame rules that meat stalls shall be protected by fly-proof doors and windows and can provide suitable stalls in public markets. But butchers prefer to keep the windows open to see what they are buying, and no army of inspectors will be large enough to enforce the regulations until the people have been educated to want clean meat. Model latrines can be provided, but it is impossible to keep them clean until the people have been educated to use them properly. But you will not educate them in these matters by making the children learn "hygiene" in school from teachers who neither believe in it nor practice it. Get the people to want these things, and the new environment will change the schools, and the lessons in hygiene will be useful. But the first essential is the education of the parents.

In the light of these considerations let us look once more at the problem of technical instruction. The view now generally accepted offers no solution. The demand is limited, so runs the argument, over-production will be a waste of money and, still worse, of men; therefore we must limit the supply in accordance with the demand. We must accept the environment; it is *kismet, dhamma.* But that is the argument of the dodo and the dinosaur and of the beasts that perish. And it is unsound. Take for example the report of the Malayan Committee of 1926 that there was no opening for a training in mechanics. At that very time the petrol engine was creating a demand for mechanics in the native world. In Netherlands India the sea fisherman learned by example and experience that new methods were profitable, and began to demand instruction. Instead of limiting supply there is the alternative of organizing the demand, and that is the solution that is being attempted by the nationalist governments in the Philippines and in Siam. In order to work out a solution of the problem of technical instruction along those lines it is necessary to educate, not the people, but those responsible for policy and for directing Western enterprise.

The principle of Nationalism would seem then a means of liberating education from its economic bondage. For all its limitations as compared with world religions, it does not, like those, appeal solely to those of the same religious faith. If the Scotsman says that he drinks whiskey rather than water because it is his national beverage we may not believe him, but we politely accept his statement as an explanation. In the expanding circle of human relationships the nation, like the family, seems to have its natural place in a world wide civilization, and among most people of the modern democratic West, Nationalism, although they may be keenly sensible of its dangers, will strike a responsive chord.

It is notorious that Nationalism has its dangers; in an acute form it may be regarded as a disease, a fever of the body politic, striving to throw off some foreign matter that endangers its constitution. It may rise superior to economic motives and drive out the money changers and the hosts of Mammon, but it will pass its children through the fire to Moloch, and thrives on hatred rather than on charity. And it is true that it has often exercised an unfortunate influence on education; in the Philippines under American rule it hindered educational reform: "independence rather than education was at stake." In a tropical dependency a Government, aiming first to preserve the imperial connection and seeming at least to be closely linked with capitalist interests, cannot easily come to terms with a movement directed to make the people capable of independence. Moreover, in the Tropical Far East the working of economic forces has brought into existence a plural society. In every country a medley of Europeans, Indians and Chinese constitute foreign enclaves, and nationalism tends to degenerate into sectionalism. This has been abundantly illustrated in clashes between Annamese and Chinese, Siamese and Chinese, Burmans and both Indians and Chinese; and in Java the popular nationalist movement arose out of a demonstration against the Chinese. Yet we have seen in Malaya that national or racial sentiment can be turned to good account by provoking the Malays to emulate the Chinese in education, and an instructed Nationalism should fit into a world-wide civilization so that the people should learn to be at once citizens of their own country and of the modern world.

But what has all this to do with education? Much, every way. We set out to ascertain the function of education in the Tropical Far East, and I would suggest that we have found an answer. Education we have defined as the sum of all the processes that equip the child for life in adult society. The school is merely one among many other factors. Life in the modern tropics is dominated by economic forces, and that is the environment for which their education equips the children. Here is the reason why primary and technical instruction make slow progress, why diplomas depreciate in value, why the schools flood the land with clerks and lawyers, why in sum, the modern school merely teaches pupils how to make a living; and the more who go to school the less they earn. It is one reason also why Eastern schools, intended to train pupils for a different environment, decay. Enthusiasts for "education" may proclaim lofty ideals as to the function of the school, but "idealism is comparatively easy in the class room."[6] The teacher, whether modern schoolmaster or Buddhist monk, cannot shut out the environment by shutting his eyes to it. He may instill ideas that will inspire some pupil to challenge circumstance, and do a little, a very little, towards providing him with the necessary tools, but he cannot directly through the school change the environment. That is the function, not of the schoolmaster, but of the statesman. In the West the modern school teaches the pupils how to live, as formerly did the Eastern school. So far as the school succeeds in that, the more who go to school the better. So far as the school in the modern tropics fails in that, the fault lies not in the school or system of instruction, but in the world in which they function. If we want better schools, we must create a better world.

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[6] Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire*, p. 35.

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CHAPTER VII

POST-WAR EDUCATION

Here perhaps we might stop. We have carried our inquiry beyond the limits of the classroom into the world outside. But we have not done with education. We have come to see it as a social rather than an individual process, and this will be more than ever important when we come to rebuild society in the post-war world. It seems that to get the children into school we must educate the parents; and we must educate the parents also before we can effectively instruct the children in hygiene and other matters of social welfare. We must make the parents want them, organize a demand for them. Similarly, if we are to extend technical instruction, we must organize a demand for it. Educational activities have been fettered by economic forces, because the society in which they function is only in economic contact with the modern world; we can not disregard economic forces, but we can control them in the interests of society and human welfare. If we would give greater freedom to the school, we must bring the people into cultural contact with the modern world. To do this does not lie within the province of the teacher, but it is a matter in which he has a vital interest. The problem of education in the tropics is then primarily a problem of adult education, including of course, all the paraphernalia of modern adult education, books, lectures and, still more, broadcasting, the cinema and so on, but with special reference to tropical society. It is a problem of social education. Obviously that is a matter of profound complexity, but our inquiries do seem to suggest certain lines on which, among others, it might be tackled.

Consider, for example, hygiene. For the prevention of epidemics it is necessary to world welfare that tropical peoples shall attain a minimum standard of modern hygienic knowledge and practice. Hygiene has no immediate and obvious cash value, and it is pre-eminently a sphere in which no man liveth to himself alone; it is of value to the community rather than to the individual, and it requires common or corporate action. To raise the standard of hygiene we must appeal to some motive other than and superior to the economic motive, the prospect of individual advantage, and must devise some machinery other than the economic machinery of unorganized supply and demand. But that is true also of primary instruction. Yet, under the impulse of nationalism, we have seen primary instruction spread throughout whole peoples, both for boys and girls, within a single generation. And we have seen much the same thing under foreign rule in Malaya and Netherlands India by a happy combination of European and native authority. Let us look at the machinery that has been employed.

If we analyze the machinery of social education in the tropics we find four distinct elements: the expert with a special knowledge of scientific principles in relation to his own subject; then, some one who by origin and upbringing is at home in Western thought, and by training and environment is sufficiently acquainted with the tropics to adapt scientific principles to native life; then, some one who by origin and upbringing is at home in native society but has sufficient knowledge of the West to carry the process of adaptation a stage further to the local circumstances of the particular people whom it is to benefit; and fourthly, some one with sufficient local influence to encourage the adoption of new methods. It is possible of course that one person may combine two or more of these qualifications. But it is rare that the scientific expert is also an expert in native life. Europeans in the tropics are transient and rarely have sufficient local knowledge or personal influence to do without a local coadjutor. Natives of the tropics who are really at home in the Western world are apt to lose touch with their own world. But the exact form of the machinery is indifferent so long as some machinery exists capable of the functions that we have just enumerated.

Hitherto such functions, so far as they have not been neglected, have devolved on members of the general administrative service. If in future they are to be more efficiently performed it will be necessary to provide a suitable training for the civil service. In the past colonial policy in this matter has differed widely. In Britain the policy has been to select men with a high standard of general education and to give them a year's training of a practical character, closely related to their work as magistrates and collectors of revenue. In France there has been a longer course—of three years, with a break during which the probationers were sent abroad for a short experience of colonial life. The Dutch system is based on a different conception of tropical administration; it is regarded as a profession requiring vocational training of university standard.[1] The Dutch administration in Netherlands India has two branches, one European and one Native. The European, who inherits an understanding of the West, has a five years' course in language, law, including customary law, tropical economy, anthropology and so on, designed to give him a knowledge of the East. The native, who inherits an understanding of the East, has a three years' course, designed to give him a knowledge of the West. Thus the two between them are able to place the scientific knowledge of experts in hygiene, agriculture and other matters at the disposal of the people. Moreover in the native civil service there is a strong hereditary element which increases its influence among the villagers. The Dutch system is, naturally, a product of gradual evolution in response to local circumstances, and could not be transplanted. But it aims at producing "social engineers" and, if the peoples of the tropics are to be brought into cultural contact with the Western world, a service of social engineers would seem to be essential. At the head there might well be, as Professor Julian Huxley has suggested, a Commissioner for Native Development, who would be responsible for the general education of the people, with, as one of his chief assistants, the Director of Public Instruction, to help him as regards the schools.

Other suggestions also emerge from our inquiry. It seems

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[1] Furnivall, J. S., "The Training for Civil Administration in Netherlands India," *Journal, Royal Central Asian Society*, 1934, p. 415.

871 to have been greatly to the advantage of Thailand that it could draw on expert assistance from many different countries, and that it could choose freely among all countries in sending youths abroad for higher studies. The Philippines also have benefited in the same way, though to a less extent, by the double connection with Spain and the United States. In general however youths from a tropical dependency go to the colonial power, and the higher administrators are drawn from that power instead of from many different countries. And in sending youth abroad, it seems especially desirable that they should go to other countries of the Tropical Far East, where so many of the problems are so similar.

And here we come to what is perhaps the point of chief importance that our inquiry has made clear. We have seen that during the nineteenth century the progress of education followed much the same course in all these countries, and with much the same results. This has continued during the present century. It opened with a renewed interest in education and a new statement of policy that everywhere was very much the same. Since then the problem of educated unemployables in all these countries has grown more urgent. In each country there have been numerous inquiries into technical and agricultural instruction, and the reports in any one country might serve for any other; they reveal much the same facts, come to much the same conclusions, and make much the same recommendations. There have also been numerous experiments with much the same results. In general there have been similar vacillations of policy as to sending men abroad for higher studies, and everywhere provision for higher studies has been made in universities: the University of the Philippines since 1908; the Chulalongkorn University, founded in 1917, and the University of Hanoi, reopened in the same year; the Bandoeng College of Engineering, established in 1919 and followed a few years later by Colleges of Law and Medicine; the University of Rangoon, dating from 1929; Raffles College, with a course aiming at the standard of a pass degree, founded in 1928, and the Imperial University in Formosa in 1929. In all the dependencies of colonial powers the nationalist movement has followed much the same course, giving rise first to associations to cooperate with government in promoting education, then breaking away to found nationalist schools, that in due course have accepted government assistance and adopted a curriculum very similar to that of the official system. We find again, generally and at much the same time, new regulations to tighten up control over private instruction by requiring the registration of schools. With all these and many other questions arising from the polyglot character of the plural society common to all these countries, it seems essential that there should be some permanent international committee to deal, not merely with education in the narrow sense of schooling and instruction, but with superintending and promoting native development, and stirring up emulation in well-doing between the different communities in each country and between the several countries and peoples. Here we would seem to have a means of promoting harmonious relations between the different communities in each country so as to foster a common social life, and between the different countries so as to foster an instructed nationalism that might be as valuable a force in world civilization as the family in national life. If, by thus pooling our knowledge and experience, we could devise a means of social education, training the people of these countries as members of the great human family, citizens of the modern world, then the education of the child would necessarily equip him for life in such a social order, and the school, helping him to look beyond the narrow limits of his village and his people, would again have its traditional character, that in the West it has never wholly lost, of giving the children life more abundantly and teaching them how to live.

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